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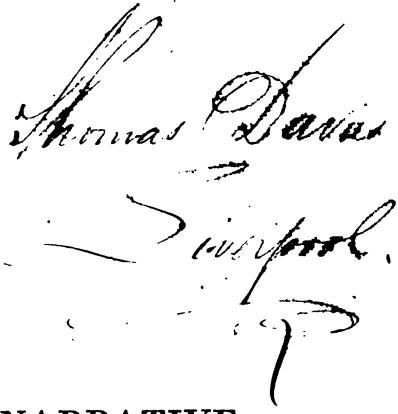

NARRATIVE

OF A

CAPTIVITY IN FRANCE,

FROM

1809 TO 1814.

Printed by GEORGE SMITH, Liverpool.

NARRATIVE

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CAPTIVITY IN FRANCE,

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1809 TO 1814.

By RICHARD LANGTON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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CHAPTER I.

MARCH FROM VERDUN——ARRIVAL AT CLERMONT——CONDUCT OF THE MAYOR OF THAT PLACE——DESCRIPTION OF THE LODGINGS OBTAINED BETWEEN IT AND ST. MENEHOULD——ARRIVAL AT CHALONS AND INSPECTION THERE.

THE long expected order to leave Verdun arrived on the 5th January, 1814, and the 7th was appointed for the first detachment to leave; our ultimate destination was uncertain till reaching Chalons-sur-Marne. The assembling of the party at the Paris gate at nine o'clock in the morning of that day, presented a scene difficult to describe; the number of English appeared to be from 300 to 400; many had been residents ten years in the depôt, some were married during

the period, and had families, others were similarly situated (i.e. having children without preforming the ceremony.) The separation of these persons from their relatives was, as may be supposed, attended with excessive grief:* with our departure, the idea which had been entertained of the security of the town from any attack of the allies now ended.

The appearance of the vehicles, comprised of carts, cabriolets, and a variety of other conveyances, was curious. Provisions were amply laid in for the day's consumption. A few gens d'armes belonging to the depôt were ordered to attend this first movement; a considerable crowd collected at the gate, some attracted by curiosity, others to take a farewell of their relatives following the fortunes of those they had married, or vice versa. The spectators ascended the ramparts as we passed through

* To marry a French woman, the sanction of the government had previously to be obtained. I am not aware if the Minister of War was called upon to grant permission for French females to act the part of wives to our countrymen. Had such been the case, his excellency would have had full occupation in answering their applications.

the gate to take a last look of those who had so long been their neighbours. The country presented a dreary scene, being covered with snow which had fallen at intervals for some weeks, and a severe frost having set in, it became hardened. Here there are few hedges or fences to mark the divison of the land; the high road was therefore only discoverable by the traces where cavalry and other troops had passed; to use an expression of a fellow traveller "it looked like a world of snow." The French had been heard to declare, that every evil was about to befall them, the weather could not be more favourable for the barbarous hordes come to invade their "Belle France," while it operated to cool the energy which the inhabitants, according to their account, would have been prepared in a contrary case to exhibit in opposing their invaders.

During the morning a party of cuirassiers, going likewise to Chalons, mixed with us; owing to cold, they walked, leading their horses, some even allowed our countrymen to mount in their stead. The first stage was to be Clermont,

where we arrived at about three o'clock in the afternoon. The mayor directly ordered each to move forward, alleging there were no billets, a detachment of cavalry having to be accommodated that night This extension of the journey was not only excessively fatiguing but fatal to many, as it afterwards appeared, who were aged and infirm, and likewise others having passed years in idleness at Verdun. There were some, although not at an advanced period of life, totally unfitted, owing to debility, to bear the fatigue of such a journey. It was not till long after dark, that such as were able to proceed, could find a resting place, this was at a small village about half way thence to St. Menehould. Even here, very few could be accommodated, the greater part of the cottages being occupied by national guards and some chasseurs, proceeding towards the army. Such as were not fortunate enough to meet with accommodation passed the night in a barn. The owner, a peasant, stood at the door to announce to each person arriving, that it was

the only refuge to be obtained, for which the sum of five sous was exacted from each visiter. Two lanterns, suspended from a beam, showed the inmates to amount to about 100; they were all English: a quantity of clean straw had been provided. The view of this place was really amusing; in one corner there were several English ladies; an officer's lady and her three daughters were compelled to take refuge here, their carriage having broken down. The greatest decorum was observed, and respect paid, to our countrywomen, on this extraordinary occasion. Parties continued to arrive during the night, reporting they had passed others scarcely able to proceed. Notwithstanding the fatigue of the day's march, few were able to obtain sleep. Of the *coup-d'œil* which this barn afforded, I shall ever retain a recollection. The moment the knapsacks were, as it was termed, doffed, the remainder of the stores each had provided were spread out. Those who, owing to keenness of appetite and unquenchable thirst, were reduced to short allowance, participated with others differently situated. Such

was the kind feeling perceptible, that we might have been one family; whenever a weary fellow-traveller came in, his *entrée* was greeted with true English feeling. The dogs (and there were several accompanying their masters) recognizing old friends, showed excessive joy. This abode was infested with rats and mice, they were allowed little rest; though tired as all were, hunting them with the dogs afforded sport, and several were killed. The ladies felt extremely uncomfortable at the idea of having these four legged animals in the same building with them.

During the night there was no lack of anecdote, and several songs were given; the hilarity which prevailed, seemed to afford the Ladies in the corner considerable amusement. Whether they had passed the night in refreshing sleep, I will not presume to determine, they were, however, the first to rise on day-light appearing, and prepare for another dreary day's journey, without it appearing they had materially suffered from cold during the night. At an early hour we continued the route to St. Menehould, where billets were given on the in-

habitants to those who sought them. The people here, as those at Verdun, regarded the approach of the Prussian army with considerable fear. We were frequently asked what kind of people the Cossacks really were. They had invariably been represented by Napoleon in his bulletins, as the greatest barbarians; doubtless to stimulate the people to the greater exertion in defending their homes and property.

In a small auberge at the entrance of the town, I met with four captains of merchantmen, who had travelled by a cart the whole of the preceding night, the condition of these poor men was pitiable in the extreme, not one of them could be less than sixty-five years of age; such was the situation of two, that in all probability they would not be able to proceed beyond Chalons, the next day's stage. On my inquiring the age of the one I took to be the oldest, he said he was sixty-nine, and that he had been eight years a prisoner in France. I endeavoured to cheer this poor old man, by telling him we should all soon be at home. "It's now of no use," he said, "I can do nothing if I once get

there; since I have been in this d——nd country, I have lost my wife and two sons, I hardly know where to look for a friend, all my little property went when I was taken." The British government had for a long time been in the habit of sending to France without exchange the aged, sick, and wounded French prisoners of war. The course persued by Napoleon, as I have already shown, was of an opposite character, he held in captivity, men, such as those I have described, to end their days in a foreign land, nor did this exhibition of a want of humanity suffice, the act of our government was designated in the Moniteur, as one of the cruellest description. "You keep," said that paper, in its lying attacks on England, "the French prisoner, till he is worn out by sickness and disease, in your prison ships, and then you send him to France to die." An accusation, if it be at all worthy of notice, may be replied to, that if humanity is not to be met with in England, we shall in vain look for it in France.

Owing to the length of the first day's march, entirely attributable to the inhumanity of the

mayor of Clermont, in refusing to allow the aged and infirm, to pass the night there. Many were now suffering severely from the effects of the frost; it was generally remarked, that those who performed the journey on foot, had not suffered in proportion with others travelling by different conveyances. On the 9th, a part only of the first detachment reached Chalons, the muster on the following day, in the square of that place, exhibited a deficiency of more than one-third of the original number. This was my third visit here, the preceding ones being in 1810 and 1811. Several English sailors from the depôt of Briançon, in the Alps, then on their way to Bapaume,* arrived at Chalons; these poor fellows had had a most tedious march, several were reported to have died on the way, and those now seen, were in a miserable condition.

The morning after our arrival, while walking in the "Grande Place," an English officer with whom I had been acquainted at Verdun, (he had

*Briançon was the depôt in which those captured in the Mediterranean were confined, in order to obviate a march over the Alps, to the English depôts in France.

been detained at the commencement of the war with his family) came to make inquiries for certain friends who had left with us, but had not arrived. In the course of conversation, he communicated his intention of not proceeding further, alledging, that the allied armies would be before Chalons in a few days. "It is folly," he said, "to go on, while we can be concealed in perfect security here." He then pointed out how this was to be effected, and kindly offered me shelter with him, in the house of his friend, a Frenchman. This plan did not appear to me an advisable one; there was great uncertainty as to the actual position of the allies, moreover, that of the Prussian army, said to be the nearest to us. It had been announced in the Moniteur, that any prisoner of war taken within a league of the allied troops, would be instantly shot. Were the Prussians to approach Chalons, and not succeed in taking the town, we, if found concealed there, considering, above all, the excited feelings of the French troops at this crisis, would, however barbarous the act, be dealt

with in the way which the ordinance referred to described. Of my friend, I shall have to speak hereafter. Thus far the gens d'armes forming the escort from Verdun, paid little attention as to the distances at which we moved, our arrival in the evening being all they looked to.

CHAPTER II.

DEPARTURE FROM CHALONS——ATTEMPT TO ESCAPE, AND THE CAUSE OF ITS FAILURE——ARRIVAL AT TROYES, AND OCCURRENCES THERE.

On the 11th of January, receiving the marching allowance for three days, we proceeded for Arcis sur Aube, where we were billeted on the inhabitants. In company with a friend, I was accommodated in the house of a retired officer, who had a son at that time a prisoner in England, stationed at Litchfield. We were very kindly treated by these people. The following day brought us to the village of Voué, on the high road to Troyes. We had but just arrived when the inhabitants were thrown into the greatest possible consternation, by a report that the Austrian cavalry had been seen, two days preceding, in the vicinity of Langres, only dis-

tant three days' march. There was difficulty in crediting the statement; it was, however, in some way confirmed, by the arrival of a gen d'arme, reporting that he had seen three Austrian officers, taken but two days preceding, conducted to Troyes, from whence he had arrived that morning. Napoleon, he further asserted, was hourly expected at the head of his guard, to drive back this advanced division of the allies.

During the evening, owing to this intelligence, an officer of the navy, who had been, like myself, a captive at Bitche, proposed once more making an effort to escape, by getting into the vicinity where the Austrian troops were reported to have been seen. I acceded, though with some reluctance, to the proposition. Our plan was, to remain some time in the village the following day, after the detachment had quitted it, then proceeding to Clocoy, distant about eight miles, and conceal ourselves in a barn or outhouse in its vicinity till the approach of night, afterwards to continue the route near Bar-sur-Aube, passing to the left of Cheaumont, which

place it was essential we should avoid, as a considerable body of troops were said to be collected there, we hoped, by travelling the entire of the night, to reach Clermont before day-break, and that the following night's journey would bring us to Chateau Villain, some distance within the advanced posts of the Austrians.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 13th, when there was no longer a prisoner or gen d'arme remaining in the village, we proceeded for Clocoy. We arrived there about one o'clock, contrary to anticipation, there was no barn situated at a distance from the village. Two countrymen who passed us during the morning, were the only persons we had seen, they gave the usual salutation of "Bon jour Messieurs." There being no apparent impediment, we continued to move on by the high road direct to Bar-sur-Aube; it was becoming dark when we approached the Fauxbourg; there is a wood of some extent within a short distance of it. To take rest, as likewise the provision laid in at Voué, we retired a few yards into the wood, and took up a position to enable us to observe all passing on the road,

at the same time preventing the possibility of an unexpected surprise. We scraped off the snow, and collecting a few embers, made a tolerably dry seat. We had rested but a short time here, when my companion unfortunately fell asleep, this, I did all in my power to prevent. As might be anticipated, on awaking, he was so benumbed as to be incapable for some time of moving, and a violent attack of ague followed. Although I had not slept, yet exposure to the cold brought on similar symptoms. It was now impossible to prosecute the attempt further. My anxiety was alone for my companion, as I conceived, unless he was speedily removed under cover, the result might be attended with serious consequences. In this miserable dilemma, we had but one alternative, to proceed to Bar-sur-Aube, and report ourselves to the mayor of that place, as having separated from the detachment, (owing to being wrongly directed) going to Troyes. While considering how to reach that town, I perceived a waggon laden with wood approach. I went immediately to the driver, a peasant, who was excessively alarmed, on seeing an individual egress from

the wood at such an unseasonable hour. I however soon dispelled his fears, by offering a a five franc piece for the use of the leading horse to conduct my friend to the first Auberge, at the entrance of the Fauxbourg, distant but a few hundred yards. This he accepted, bringing the horse to the spot where my companion lay; and which he mounted with some difficulty. On reaching the Auberge we had to knock a considerable time for admission. An old woman who opened the door, would not let us enter till she was convinced we had the means of paying for accommodation. The old dame regarded us with great suspicion; she went out for a short time, returning with three of her neighbours, in order (it was judged from their manner) to ascertain whether we were persons who ought to be sheltered. She afterwards made a good fire, and while we were in the act of enjoying it, a gen d'arme appeared. Our arrival, it may be conceived, had been announced to the authorities by some one deputed by our hostess; at any other time, the presence of such a visitor would have been a misfortune, it had now a different character,

Drawn on Stone by W. Crane, from a Sketch made by the Author

SITUATION OF THE AUTHOR AND HIS COMPANION,

In the Wood near Bar sur Aube

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as affording the means to make known our situation, in order to be conducted to Troyes.

He appeared to believe the story as to having lost the way, and seeing my friend's condition, and that I likewise was suffering, he said, "you must both go to the hospital." I intreated he would first see the mayor, and report our situation, with the request that we might be immediately conducted to Troyes. Not in a condition to escape, during his absence, he left us in charge of a countryman, while he went to state our arrival. He returned in a short time, saying, that he had orders to conduct us to Voué, to be placed in charge of a brigadier of gendarmerie, stationed there. Soon afterwards a cart being procured, we proceeded once more to that place, and arrived about three o'clock, at the moment the second detachment came in which had left Verdun two days after our departure. They reported that many of our fellow travellers were in the hospital of Chalons, moreover, that some deaths had occurred amongst them; of the number, two of the infirm captains

whom I had met with at the small inn, at St. Menehould. I remarked there were fewer absentees than on the two days preceding; owing, probably, to their having been permitted to pass the first night of the march at Clermont. In this arrival, there were three surgeons of the army, who immediately afforded my companion and myself all the aid in their power; notwithstanding, he became worse during the night, and it was feared he would not be able to proceed the following day to Troyes, where rest, and the comforts an invalid ever requires, might be obtained.

On the morning of the 15th January, we once more quitted Voué. Having previously hired a covered cart, my companion was enabled to bear the journey tolerably well. A little after three o'clock we came to the gates of Troyes, where a crowd had collected, with few exceptions, composed of the lowest class, to gaze on a few Austrian soldiers recently taken; they were fine powerful men; two of their officers, as we passed, took off their caps, a salutation which not only drew forth remarks, but appeared to amuse this ill clothed and apparently worse fed

group of spectators. Rest had become essential to many of the detachment, and applications were made to the authorities for leave to remain here a few days; two had been marked on the feuille-de-route; the mayor, notwithstanding, refused to extend the time. Though the march from Verdun had not been long, it was nevertheless attended with considerable fatigue to those who had spent so many years in inactivity at Verdun. Several were ill, owing to the severity of the cold. It was a general remark, that the stoutest and most able, who, on the commencement of the journey seemed capable of supporting the greatest fatigue and privation, were now the greatest sufferers.

On the 17th, the third party reached Troyes, it was composed of the *èlite* of the depôt; the greater part had come in carriages, with means to obtain every comfort on the road; there were few absentees. Our ultimate destination was now ascertained to be Blois; Fontainbleau had been previously named. This change of destination was attributable to the rapid advance of the allies. After five days rest, on the 20th January I proceeded

in company with the recent arrivals; the stage was to Sens, rather a neat town in the department of the Yonne; as heretofore we were billeted on the inhabitants. The following day's journey brought us to Joigny, where the greater part were very badly lodged, travelling thence by cross roads which made it excessively fatiguing; we reached Montargis, a tolerably large town; and the following day Vitry aux Loges, without any thing worthy of remark, entered Orleans on the 26th January. We had now entered, as the French designate it, "Le Jardin de France." Orleans is a large handsome town, situated on the north bank of that beautiful river the Loir; two days rest afforded ample opportunity for its inspection; there were few of my companions who, I believe, neglected to avail themselves thereof. The street leading from the Grande Place to the bridge, is probably not surpassed by any in the provincial towns. The river is here of considerable width, and crossed by a fine stone bridge of sixteen arches; the quays are spacious and well constructed. There were a number of large boats collected here laden with wine, giving

to Orleans, the appearance of a place of considerable trade. The river was covered with floating masses of ice. Here are several splendid churches containing paintings of great celebrity. In the centre of the Grande Place there is a bronze monument, bearing the statue of Jeanne d' Arc, the intrepid Maid of Orleans, by whom the English were compelled to raise the siege of the city in 1429. We were informed there is an annual procession on the 19th May to commemorate the event. There are many vineyards in the vicinity, but the wines they produce are not to be compared with those of the more southern parts of France.

On the morning of the 27th January we proceeded to Beaugency; the pope, who had been held a prisoner a long time by Napoleon, twice passed us during the journey towards Blois.* The peasantry fell on their knees by the side of the road, and in the attitude of prayer received his benediction; this was given by his holiness moving his hand to the right and left at the

* His second appearance was owing to attending mass in a small church, which was a little off the line of road.

carriage window. Beaugency is a small place surrounded with vineyards. Although the country was covered with snow, there was sufficient to be seen to indicate that on the approach of a milder season we should be residents of a much finer country than we had quitted. On the 28th the journey was brought to a conclusion by our arriving at Blois; during the day we passed many vineyards and chateaux. The country from the left bank of the Loire, which is of considerable elevation, showed to little advantage, buried as it was in snow; floating masses of ice here, as at Orleans, had done considerable damage to the bridge. The Loire appears much broader at Blois than at the latter place. We remarked that the people here spoke better French than any we had met with. It is a town of great antiquity; as regards extent and buildings Orleans has much the advantage; living here was extremely moderate. We received billets for fourteen days, on the expiration of that time they were renewed. This was, the inhabitants considered, a great hardship on them; they nevertheless treated us with civility.

In the course of the week Major Meulon, the former commandant at Verdun, as likewise the gens d'armes from that depôt, arrived. Our countrymen who had been detained on the road through sickness, &c. came at intervals. The first muster showed a great defalcation, there being few more than half the number who had quitted Verdun; many were known to have deserted, but of the fate of others nothing decisive could be ascertained.

The country we had recently passed, was now the scene of strife, many severe battles had been fought, particularly in the neighbourhood of Chalons, Arcis-sur-Aube, and Bar-sur-Aube, &c. &c. By letters from Verdun, that place was summoned to open its gates in three weeks after our departure, the Prussian army (to save the town the horrors of a bombardment) was permitted to pass through, and prosecute its march on Chalons; some irregular troops attached to it, were not similarly favoured, but had to cross the river, some distance below the town. The Prussians came forward with great rapidity,

after passing the Meuse.* Troyes was taken soon after our leaving it, and with little resistance, by a division of the allies under the orders of the Prince Royal of Wirtembourg. It was not, however, long in their possession, as Napoleon immediately advanced with a considerable force from the neighbourhood of St. Dizier, and compelled the allies to retire. He afterwards proceeding to attack the different corps of the Russians and Prussians marching direct on Paris. They were likewise compelled to retrograde a considerable distance. These partial successes were magnified by the French papers into the greatest

* The letter which announced the passage of the Prussians through our former residence, likewise gave the melancholy intelligence of the assassination of Lieutenant Blakeney of Marines. This officer, some time previous to our departure, had been permitted to reside at the town of Estain, a short distance from Verdun. On its falling into the hands of the troops here mentioned, he was named commandant of the town. The appointment, it may be conceived, was not congenial to the feelings of all classes of the inhabitants, at least it was not so to one of that corps, to which I have had occasion to allude in a preceding part of my narrative. Lieutenant Blakeney was waylaid while perambulating the country, and barbarously shot by a garde de foret. I never heard if retribution followed the act.

of victories; had it been possible to credit one-half of those statements, there was but little hope of our liberation. When the accounts alluded to reached Blois, the bulletin announcing them was read from the stage of the theatre. The French people affected to rejoice at these events, asserting that not one of the invaders would ultimately return to their own country. It was the opinion of many English officers here, that had Napoleon had 30,000 disposable troops to follow up those advantages, the allies would have been compelled to recross the Rhine.

A short time previous to these events a strong force of cavalry came through Blois on its way to join Napoleon: they were very fine men; owing to long service in Spain their clothing was much worn; several whose uniform had originally been blue, was now, owing to the effect of the sun, nearly brown; excessively dark complexioned, and the visage covered with a profusion of hair, they had the look of Mulattos. The troops here mentioned were drawn from the army of the Pyrenees then opposed to the Duke of Wellington; according to report they were replaced by cavalry recently

formed. These regiments soon after quitting us, were engaged in several hard fought battles. The Moniteur, as well as all prints under the eye of the government, now teemed with exaggerated statements of the conduct of the allied troops towards the inhabitants as they advanced.* The Cossacks invariably came in for their full share as regarded the monstrous cruelties inflicted on these, as they would be termed, peaceable and unoffending people. Those strangers were represented as the most cruel and barbarous race existing; irregular corps of that force made incursions at considerable distance from the main armies, levying contributions, and exacting provisions, &c.; if their demands were not immediately complied with, the knout was used. By these accounts the authorities were invariably grossly insulted. The perusal of these reports, as may be conceived, caused great amusement to the English residents at Blois. The French people when reading them, and which they did with great attention, apparently believing all they contained, became excessively enraged at

* These statements were printed and posted on the walls.

the idea that their country should, as they expressed it, be polluted by the presence of these barbarians. Had a counter picture accompanied these representations, portraying the atrocities committed by the French armies in Prussia and the German states, probably their indignation might have been somewhat mitigated.

It was not long before the reported extinguished Russians and Prussians were again acting on the offensive. The actions of Leon, Rheims, Chateau Thiery, Champbaubert, Arcis sur Aube, and many others, denoted that it required more than the lies of the bulletins to drive them from France. Of the Austrian army, little was heard; it did not appear to act with the vigour which marked the proceedings of the other corps. They were some time inactive before Lyons, this gave rise to the supposition that the Emperor of Austria was desirous of bringing the campaign to a conclusion, by negociation. Allied to Napoleon, it might be presumed he had a desire not to see his entire subjugation. Conferences were at this time going on at Chattilon sur Sienne, and at Chaumont; Lord Castlereagh,

as representative of Great Britain, attended; circumstances which strengthened those opinions.

About the middle of February, the frost having continued with the greatest severity since the middle of November, seemed inclined to leave us; a partial thaw took place; as the snow disappeared the country round Blois began to show its verdure. The winter of 1810, severe as it was, bore no comparison, either as to intenseness or duration, with the one on which I write; while it favoured the invaders, who were accustomed to cold, it damped the courage as well as the physical force of the defenders, save such as had been accustomed to campaigns in the north of Europe. On our march, when passing detachments of national guards moving towards the armies, we could not refrain from laughing, when observing how they were muffled above the chin. A most unexpected attack was made on Orleans at the beginning of February, by a corps, as it was presumed, of irregular Cossacks, when an arch of the beautiful bridge at that place was exploded. This was, doubtless, the corps which had for a long time caused great

uneasiness, and to whom the reported excesses practised in the different departments had reference. It was extraordinary these people, whose number was said not to exceed 600, should have had the audacity to attempt to carry, by a *coup de main*, a city like Orleans. The allies at this period had not approached Paris, so that these Cossacks must have been at a distance not less than 150 miles from any of their armies. Orleans was without troops, save a few national guards and gens d'armes; the inhabitants, nevertheless, contrived to offer sufficient resistance, compelling these unexpected visiters to retire, not, however, before a few were wounded and taken. At such an inconsiderable distance from the scene of this attack, we naturally anticipated a removal from Blois; an order to that effect immediately followed. The town of Gueret, the principal one in the department of Creuse, was the place selected. The distance was considered equal to nine days' march.* As the frost disappeared, the weather

* We performed it, owing to travelling by cross roads, in seven days.

consequently became milder; to this and the rest afforded at Blois, those who had suffered in the preceding journies became convalescent.*

* I find myself totally incompetent to convey to the reader an adequate idea of the beautiful country round Blois, (often have I visited it since my captivity, and at a time when the vine began to tinge, indicating the vintage ought to be gathered) and still more unable to describe that splendid river, the Loire, on whose banks, covered with vineyards, a plaintive poet used to tune his lyre. When perambulating around, it has often occurred to me, how a people blessed with such a country should be ever restless.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTURE FROM BLOIS FOR GUERET——INCIDENTS OF THE JOURNEY——ARRIVAL AT GUERET——DESCRIPTION OF THAT DEPOT——WITH OCCURRENCES TILL OUR FINAL LIBERATION.

On the 15th February the first party proceeded for Bracieux, a small bourg, and but a short distance: owing to the thaw, having moreover to travel by cross roads, the journey was excessively fatiguing. There was no specific number selected to move on alternate days; a general order was issued to proceed without loss of time, and by a certain road, to Gueret, receiving the marching allowance at the towns where a commissary of war might be met with. At Bracieux we had great difficulty in obtaining lodgings; many were compelled to pass the night in barns. At Rommorantin, the next stage, we met with

very good accommodation. In this place there were a considerable number of Spanish officers, who, on or after their capture, had enlisted under the banners of Napoleon; they were now in a state of inactivity like all other foreigners who had served him; no longer to be trusted they were disarmed. In the cafés and hotels where chance brought us together, it was perceptible they had not only a desire to enter into conversation, but likewise to become familiar with us. Their advances were unsuccessful; between loyalty and treachery, there can be no reciprocal feeling. In our detachment were several English officers who had been made prisoners in Spain; their indignation was excited on beholding these traitors.

On the 17th, the route was continued to Vierzon; for the first time for a long period rain came on, owing to this, the roads in some parts were ankle deep; those who had been heard on former occasions to complain of the severity of the frost, having to travel through snow, now inveighed bitterly at the change. On reaching Issundun, if the curiosity of the inhabitants was to be taken as a criterion, this was the first time

they had seen Englishmen. In the more remote provinces of France, it might be presumed the younger part of the population could not have had the opportunity of beholding, (at least not in number) the "Barbarians of the Sea," an epithet frequently bestowed by the Moniteur, as well as other prints on the subjects of Great Britain. A noble lord arriving here from Blois, excited the wonder of this enlightened community; they could not conceive why he was as plainly attired as the rest.

The following day we reached Chateauroux, though a short journey, it was nevertheless fatiguing, as rain fell the whole of the day; the roads consequently became worse as we advanced. On the 20th, the stage was to Argenton, a small town in the department of the Indre; where several gens d'armes coming from Blois by extra stages, joined us. The following day we proceeded by cross roads, and in some parts over ploughed ground, (it rained excessively during the whole of the way) to Aiguirand; we arrived in a miserable state, drenched with rain and covered with mud. I and two friends were billeted at

the house of a shop-keeper, whose family consisted of an old man, his wife, and three daughters, two of the latter were remarkably pretty. It was impossible the kindness shewn to us by these persons could be exceeded, they immediately made a large fire, before which, we were soon enabled to dry our clothing. On inquiring if there was a restaurants near, where we might dine comfortably, they insisted that we should remain to dine with them. In the course of the evening the old man favoured us with a tune on his violin; one of my companions being an adept on that instrument, excited the astonishment of this family so much, that several neighbours were sent for to witness his ability; a dance was got up, and though wearied, we were compelled to figure in it. In the morning, when we were about to depart, inquiring what the expenses incurred amounted to, they would receive no remuneration. I record with pleasure this trait of kindness, as instances were rare during this long residence in France, where I had (save at Auxonne) met with similar hospitality.

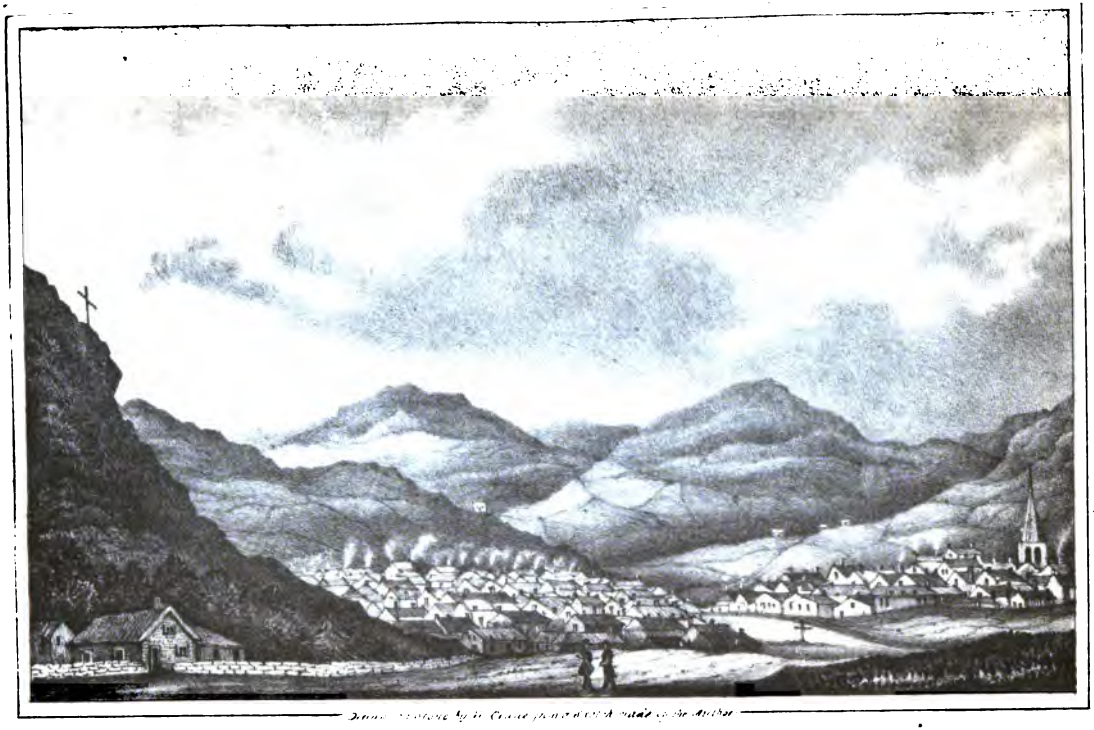
Such had been the fatigue of the last two days'

journies, that even the gens d'armes travelling with us, were heard to complain bitterly of the general who commanded at Blois, for having selected a route where it was impossible a vehicle could pass. That officer was known not to entertain a kind feeling towards the English; many attributed the selection of the road to his dislike; those who had carriages, were permitted to take the post road by Chartres; they consequently had not to endure the fatigue which fell to our lot. On the 22nd, after a journey much less tiresome than that of the preceding day, we arrived at Gueret. Although the principal town of the department, it is inconsiderable in extent, and the greater part meanly constructed; the country round is wild and romantic, and there are several hills in rear of the town covered with olive trees and vines, which have a pleasing effect, appearing above the tops of the houses when viewed from the bridge over the Creuse. By casual glance, this place did not appear calculated to afford a comfortable residence to the number of English coming from Blois.* As detachments arrived, drafts were made

* The population of Gueret was reported not to exceed 5000.

to the surrounding villages, Vaudry, to which I was allotted, was at no great distance, and might contain 150 to 200 inhabitants, we exceeded its male population by five to two.

The civil and criminal courts were held at Gueret, and the assizes commenced not long after our arrival. I was anxious to witness the forms of their courts, and an opportunity soon offered in a trial for murder; the accused was a peasant, apparently about 25 years of age, charged with having administered a quantity of arsenic in rice milk, from the effect of which three of his relations had died; the object of the crime, was to obtain possession of a small property which they held. When placed in the dock between two gens d'armes, the judge desired the latter to take off their hats, to which they in no very polite way refused to accede, on the ground that the court was not a military one, after a good deal of persuasion on the part of the prisoner's counsel, the request of the judge was acceded to. The proceedings of the court were exceedingly tedious, and I was astonished to find the judge interrogate the prisoner at some length; his counsel did not forego the opportunity



Drawn from Nature by G. Cruse, purchased at the Sale of the Author

THE VILLAGE OF VAUDRY,

In the Department of the Creuze.

to show his oratory, had it not been for the solemnity of the occasion, a laugh might have been excused, such was his gestures. When the jury were called upon for their verdict, each member separately rose, and placing his hand on his breast, replied, "I swear before God and man, on my honour and conscience, that the accused is guilty;" there was however one seen to dissent.* On the announcement of the verdict, the prisoner, who, during the whole of the trial, scarcely appeared to notice the proceedings, spoke a few moments to his counsel; the latter then turning to the judge, notified that the accused would appeal to the court of Cassation. It was made in vain, and the execution took place not long afterwards, on an open space of ground in the upper part of the town, contiguous to the public walk. Having witnessed a similar scene, as the reader will recollect, at Chaumont, I had no desire for a repetition; by those who attended, I was told, that the culprit, being in a most emaciated state, had to be taken by one of

*The reader is probably aware that in French courts, the verdict of a jury goes by a majority.

the executioners in his arms, and buckled to the board; the force with which the knife fell, threw the head beyond the basket placed to receive it, and rolling off the stage, was picked up by one of the gens d'armes, and thrown carelessly on the platform.

It surprised the English, at this time in France, that the guillotine, an instrument by which so many human beings had been sacrificed, should still be retained as the common mode of execution.*

* If it be correct, as a modern writer asserts, that for two months previous to the death of Robespierre, he sent his fellow citizens, fifty per day to execution by this instrument; the surprise I have alluded to, was indeed natural.

When at Cambrai, an old lady in whose house I resided, used to recount to me the scenes of horror daily occurring there during the reign of that miscreant. The guillotine was kept in a constant state of readiness in the centre of the Grande Place. A committee appointed by him, held their meetings in a house at the west corner of the square; soon after the arrival of the post from Paris, their emissaries issued forth to bring before them persons who had been unhappily denounced. At this period, the streets and public places were nearly deserted, and the shops were half closed. The inhabitants regarded with breathless anxiety the course which those executioners were seen to take; a rap at the door was a signal to prepare for death, as few were known to return from these examinations. Robespierre was a native of Arras, and sent to the guillotine those who had been his earliest

In the middle of the march the usual monthly pay, due on the 1st, was distributed to the depôt; the situation of the English at Gueret at this period was becoming exceedingly critical, and the want of money was severely felt; the small allowance of the government was inadequate to the maintenance of those who till now, had never experienced want. Although billeted on the inhabitants in the town and surrounding villages, there was no allowance of the necessaries of life. By those who had credits lodged in Paris, money was obtainable, though at the great sacrifice of 16 or 17 francs per pound. Such as had friends in England on whom to draw, however respectable the authority, could not obtain a sous on their drafts till the payment was ascertained. The pay of the British government to those belonging to the army and navy, placed them above want; but the unfortunate detenues and those of the merchant service, whose funds were exhausted by a long captivity, had

associates; he caused Cambrai, Baupaume, and Valenciennes, lying contiguous to that place, to suffer in proportion with his native town.

no recourse; of the latter classes, there were many now at Gueret.

From the central position of the department of the Creuse, the country for a few leagues round, held the greater part of the prisoners of war of different nations then in France; the number was estimated at 90,000. The Spaniards alone were stated to amount to 60,000. On this point there were likewise many disbanded regiments which had been in the French service, belonging to the states of the Confederation of the Rhine; that so many individuals should be kept from their homes by the will of one man was almost incredible.

As spring approached, our amusement was in perambulating the country. At this period little or no watch was kept upon us. One day in each week we were required to make an appearance at Gueret, a day, however, seldom passed without visits being made there to ascertain how affairs stood, as regarded the advance of the allies, the return of parties from that place was looked for with anxiety; these village residences were dull beyond conception. As time progressed we

naturally became the more uncomfortable. It was to us, indeed "that hope deferred which sickeneth the heart," and our funds were nearly expended; this with the consideration that the inhabitants longed for our departure, the reader will not be surprised when I state, that those who had borne captivity with resignation for so long a period, now began to despond. I believe there were few of the English residents of this humble village who did not regret having come thus far without making an attempt to escape. Our liberation seemed as distant as when we were residents of Verdun. Some time had elapsed without any thing favourable being announced relative to the advance of the allies. Although my undertaking from Voué turned out unfortunate and attended as it was with no inconsiderable suffering, I came to the determination to make a further effort; I communicated this intention to two friends with whom I had been acquainted at Cambrai. They instantly agreed to my proposition. The Austrian advanced posts were believed to be at the town of Thiers in the department (the puy-de-dome) the next to where

we were, and distant about half way between Lyons and Gueret. It was presumed that three nights travelling would enable us to reach them. At this time there was the consolation that an attempt, if unsuccessful, would not be followed by long and dreary confinement as in all former cases it had been. Moreover there were (as far as we had seen of this part of France) no strongly fortified places, calculated to keep prisoners in security, and to be removed to any distance where they might be met with was impossible, as advance in whatever direction would bring us nearer to the invaders. The field, if I may be allowed to use the term, was open, yet that great essential, money, was wanting. Our joint funds did not exceed 175 francs or £6; "fear not," said one of my companions, when laying our plans, "if once within the Austrian posts we shall not want." In order to ascertain if they really were at the place alluded to, it was decided to make an excursion towards the frontier of the department, and if accounts were favorable to return the same night and complete arrangements for a final departure.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 21st

March, each provided with a fishing rod and a wallet,* we quitted Vaudry; the weather was favorable, and the walk through a romantic country. Travelling at a tolerable pace, we were able to reach the village of Poinsat a little after twelve o'clock. This place is situated out of the limits of the department of the Creuze, a fact of which we were ignorant, otherwise the journey would not have been extended beyond them. While taking refreshment in a small auberge, and obtaining information from the landlord as to the Austrians being at or near Thiers, three of those persons with whom captivity had made me well acquainted, i. e. gens d'armes, came in, demanding our passports. Finding, as prisoners of war we were not provided with them, we were told they must reconduct us to Gueret. One of these men went immediately for the horses, the other two keeping a close watch till their arrival. In about half an

* If stopped by the police or gens d'armes, we decided to represent the object of our wanderings as in search of streams affording good trout fishing, and of which there were many to be met with in this department.

hour afterwards we were on the road. Our conductors compelled us to keep in the centre, one riding on each side, the other close behind us. I never remembered during the marches I had performed having been compelled to walk at the quick pace at which these ruffians made us move. We arrived at seven o'clock almost exhausted, and were immediately conducted to the town gaol. Several friends came to visit us, astonished not a little to learn we were, as they termed it, in limbo. The following morning Major Meulan, the commandant, directed a gens d'arme to bring the stragglers before him. He was excessively indignant, and refused to receive our explanation of the occurrence; moreover threatening, that if found absent from the village he would send us to the gaol for an unlimited period. With this warning we were dismissed.

On arriving at our old quarters I learnt, with deep regret, that a valued friend had died the preceding night, in a cottage not very distant from our residence. He had been nine years in captivity; many were the gaols in which we had rested, as well as the marches performed together.

He suffered much from the effect of the march from Verdun to Blois, and though convalescent after his arrival here; his spirits nevertheless gave way. I and others from the village attended the funeral the following day, and I regret at having to record that the priest of a small chapel near where my friend had resided, not only objected to perform the funeral rights, but refused the body interment within the chapel yard.*. It fell to my lot, and for the first time, to read the service. The spot selected for the grave, was in a field adjoining the garden of the cottage where he had died. Several old women and children came to look on; they appeared surprised to see how quickly and not less humbly the last office was performed. In the course of a week, we were deprived of two more companions, they likewise had been a long time invalids. The priest was not, on these occasions, asked permission, similar to that alluded to: they were interred close to their former acquaintance. If I omit inserting the names of these departed

* I need scarcely observe that my friend was a Protestant.

friends, it is because relatives of theirs may perchance peruse my narrative, and learning how imperfectly the ceremony was performed, as well as their humble resting places, I may subject myself to the charge of unnecessarily recalling painful recollections.

The authorities at Gueret thus far, had shown no ill-feeling towards the English residing with them, with the exception of the Prefect. The dislike of the people towards him was excessive. He was a native of Corsica, about 30 to 35 years of age, and a relative of Napoleon. On occasions when the conscriptions had to be drawn, he thought proper to exceed the number of men which the town and the department were called upon to furnish; in thus adding to the miseries of the population as might be anticipated, he found additional favour with the government.

A few officers who had been taken at piquet before the army commanded by the Duke of Wellington, now joined the depôt; by their statements it appeared that our countrymen were fast advancing in the south. The Austrian army

was still said to be before Lyons; of the movements of the Russians and Prussians little had been heard for some time; bulletins occasionally issued, which, as in all former cases, gave exaggerated accounts of the successes of the French armies over the invaders, who were represented as losing thousands, while the French loss never exceeded as many hundreds: these mis-statements were finally to have their effect, "how is it," the French people inquired, "if we lose so few men, the conscriptions continue to be drawn." More than a million of conscripts had been sent to the armies within the preceding fifteen months. To repair the losses which had attended the memorable campaign of Moscow, the system acted upon was not less novel than ingenious. It was in exaggerating the amount of the gifts, voluntary contributions in horses, money, &c. as likewise offers of service to reinforce the army. The papers sent for distribution in the north contained the most unfounded representations as regarded the extent to which the acts of loyalty went in the south, and visa versa, thus these already impoverished and oppressed people were

cajoled to vie with each other in supporting a yoke becoming daily more intolerable to bear. Before I commence to narrate occurrences which preceded our long wished for liberation, the reader will, I trust, pardon me if I go back to former periods of this captivity, and relate some anecdotes, &c. which, though introduced somewhat out of place, may nevertheless be considered interesting.

On passing Chalons in 1810, on my way to Auxonne, I witnessed the carrying into effect of the Berlin and Milan decrees, which, it will be remembered, consigned to the flames manufactured goods, whatever their description, if of English origin, and found within the territory of France.* The exhibition was as amusing to my companions and myself as it was distressing to the French spectators, many of whom needed greatly the woollen goods destroyed on the occasion. In the centre of the Grande Place a large fire was made of wood. The whole were brought in a waggon under escort of a party of gens

* A similar fate awaited our manufactures found in countries under the rule of the despot.

d'armes; the authorities attended to see they were completely destroyed. The greater part were coarse blue cloths, with some furze goods, and an inconsiderable quantity of the coarser description of shirting. The pieces were separately thrown on the pile, and as the flames issued the common expression of "Oh! Mon Dieu!" was heard from the by-standers.

I have ascertained from Frenchmen, how correctly I know not, that similar exhibitions were afterwards of rare occurrence. Napoleon found the impolicy of thus publicly destroying what the humbler classes so much wanted.* It was moreover said that goods which had been manufactured in France, or in states incorporated within her empire, which had, in order to obtain better prices, English marks upon them, were likewise committed to the flames, causing great loss, and with it distress to the shopkeepers and manufacturers. A remark of one of my companions on the occasion alluded to was, "we had better depart, or probably they will serve us in the same way." I

* Since the period of the peace the lower classes in France appear to me much better clothed.

never learned (though it might have been) that colonial produce known to have come from England was destroyed in the way the goods I have described were. This exception might be owing to their scarcity, and the want not being to be replaced, as France had scarcely at this period a colony left, and even from them supplies were rarely obtained owing to the vigilance of the British cruizers. To obviate the dearth of these West India luxuries, and those of other climes, Napoleon encouraged the cultivation of the beet root* for extracting sugar. Manufactures for making an imitation coffee, chicorrée, principally made from roasted peas and beans. Herb tea, denominated Swiss tea, (this our sailors called *Boney's long Hyson,)* in the sale of these the government derived advantage by licensing certain

* Even now the beet root is cultivated in considerable quantity, particularly in Alsace and Loraine, for a similar purpose; nor is this extraordinary; it has been proved before a committee of the chamber of deputies, on the question whether foreign sugars should be admitted for consumption in France, on payment of a duty, adequate to protect the French planter, that their colonies do not produce sufficient for the wants of the people.

individuals as the sole venders and manufacturers I believe there were none who had more to regret the honor these exclusive privileges conferred than parties connected with the sugar establishments. If the manufactures of England were for a time shut out from those parts of the continent where French influence and power was seen to prevail, it was some consolation that the excluders were in turn deprived the extensive use of the articles (and to them they are of the greatest importance) to which I have referred.

There was no event which occurred during this residence that more astonished the nation than Napoleon's discarding Josephine, and his marriage with the daughter of the Emperor of Austria. I well remember during my stay at Auxonne in 1810, the act of the senate dissolving the first was proclaimed in the streets by the common crier. The performance of the marriage ceremony was afterwards posted on the walls. The French people considered it was rather to give to his possession of the throne an heir of legitimacy, than leaving a successor to it, that he sought a wife from among imperial families of Europe.

The acts of making himself consul for life, and recalling the emigrants, were but the commencement of a new area which was to invest him with the title, if not of emperor, at least that of king. How far these suppositions were verified I need not report; but it was extraordinary that he should seek an alliance with a family by whom he must have been aware he was detested, in order to add weight to an authority which was at that time without curb and without limits. Josephine was greatly, and if her character was correctly represented, justly beloved by all classes. Her condescension was equal to her liberality; when cases of distress appeared, she visited the sick and indigent, moreover interceding with Napoleon to lighten the punishment of those who had incurred his displeasure. I never remember an instance where a Frenchman was seen openly to cast ridicule on any act of Buonaparte's, save that of the marriage on which I write.

The change from the republic to the monarchy (as far as I could learn from those with whom I resided) was not looked upon with favour by the bulk of the population. Those who had assisted

in the revolution which swept the Bourbons from the throne, looked upon this return to royalty, as condemnation of their acts. They could not but consider Buonaparte as the heir of the revolution, and the successor of the republic.

I have in different parts of my narrative, alluded to the ferocious treatment of the gens d'armes towards the English prisoners at this time in France. To the catalogue, I shall add acts perpetrated, not on myself, but on those now with me, and on whose veracity I place every reliance. A captain of a merchantman, and three sailors, escaped from the citadel of Valenciennes, on the evening of the 15th January, 1811; after undergoing hardships almost inconceivable, were retaken at the town of Caieux, when approaching the sea coast, and afterwards conducted to Valenciennes. The officer in command there, caused their being immediately placed in irons, two together, which were rivetted round the leg. In virtue of the decree I have spoken of, they were condemned to six years hard labour; the sentence was afterwards reversed, and they were sent to the depôt of Briançon, in the Alps, a distance

considered to be not less than 1100 miles. On reaching there, they were placed in a vaulted cellar, and confined three days, along with others recently arrived. Such was the severity of the treatment these unfortunate men had to contend with on the march, and manacled as they were, that out of the number of 164, 24 afterwards died. In that depôt, an act of barbarity was perpetrated by a gend'arme, of which it would be difficult to find a parallel in a country were any form of govcrnment is known to exist. One of that corps had been heard to declare, that he had a strong desire to shoot an Englishman, and would do so the first occasion offering. The cause of the monster's antipathy could not be accounted for. One evening, while four of the sailors were playing a game at cards, by candle-light, a shot was fired, coming through the barrack window, which instantly killed one of the party, and at the same time passing through the arm of another. This murderous act so incensed the whole of the prisoners, that the commandant, Mons. D'Avril, saw the necessity of disarming the gen d'arme

and transfering him to Grenoble for trial. Eight of the prisoners were conducted there hand-cuffed, as witnesses. The gen d'arme had been placed at the bar previous to their arrival, and was about to be acquitted for the want of evidence. This would have been the result, had not one of the witnesses stated to the court, the declaration which the prisoner had previously made. In order to ascertain the truth, a priest was sent for; the culprit, on having the crucifix presented to him, went on his knees, acknowledging that he fired without provocation; whereupon, he was found guilty, and condemned for ten years to the public works. He however died, insane, in three months afterwards.

Whenever a gen d'arme appeared before his superiors on a charge of brutality towards a prisoner of war, however strong the evidence against him, unless it could be proved he was intoxicated when committing the act, he escaped with the simple admonition, "to be more careful for the future when using his side arms." In a contrary case, on its being ascertained that he was drunk, a few hours confinement atoned for the

offence. Inebriety was thus but slightly checked, while the brutal act of cutting and maiming persons who, unarmed, (as all prisoners must necessarily be,) and therefore incapable of resisting, passing off, unless accompanied as I have stated, without any punishment whatever.

Many were the cuts and scars I have seen inflicted on the sailors and soldiers confined in various depôts with me, and these too with little provocation. I will not tire the reader with a recapitulation of the many instances where the ruffianly gen d'arme was seen to draw his sabre on that particular class of our countrymen whose element is the sea, men with whom, had they been broadside to broadside, the gend'arme would have been glad to avoid, but shall select one or two instances which will, I think, prove how much right we had to complain at being placed under the authority of a class so totally void of humanity. During my residence at Bitche a midshipman (Bellchambers) not retiring to the *souterrain* as speedily as a gen d'arme, who had charge of the evening muster thought he should, angry words passed between them. The sword

was no sooner drawn than it was wrested from the grasp of the monster, intending to make a cowardly use of it, when our companion again placed it in his possession. The affair might have been considered ended; it however was not to pass without revenge. As Bellchambers was about to descend to his abode, the gen d'arme followed; coming immediately hehind him he made a blow, which, had it not been parried, by holding up his right arm to protect his head, would in all probability have proved fatal. The hand was nearly severed about an inch above the wrist. For this act of cruelty General Maisonnueuve considered a few days confinement sufficient atonement.

In the case of that unfortunate person (Morgan) who was, as I have reported, barbarously shot for disarming a gen d'arme at the depôt of Sarrelouis, the sword was thrown through the window into the barrack yard. It is extraordinary that in both these instances when the weapon was in possession of the parties for whose destruction it had been wantonly raised, and considering too

their excited feelings at the moment, that the assailants were not retaliated upon.

Of the assurance of the class whose barbarity I shall ever remember, the trial at Gueret, when they refused to take off their hats because the court was not a military one, will afford a specimen. On one of the few visits which I made from the fort to the town of Bitche, I met with General Murry and Lieutenant Letoller. The time (two hours) allowed for our absence from the former place having but half expired, it was proposed to take refreshment at an inn during the interval. When brought on the table the General was the first to take a seat, the three gens d'armes taking off their hats were about to follow (it could not be supposed they were invited) the example, seeing which General Murry instantly rose, and turning to us said, "this is indeed an honor which may well be dispensed with." Our guardians were excessively disappointed when it was announced that we were ready to be re-conducted to the fort. The Baron de Dalmont was the only officer that I have met with who

would punish the privates of his corps (and that severely) when seen to act with unnecessary severity towards the prisoners under their charge.

It was really painful to peruse letters from former companions, and which were received here about the latter end of March. The statements of the hardships and privations they had undergone, resulting from tedious marches when changing their depôts, could scarcely admit of belief. Although those who had preferred in coming from Verdun to Blois, and thence to Gueret, were not exceeded in extent except, indeed, by the removal of those coming from Briançon, yet we had endured little as compared to representations which the letters alluded to conveyed. This was to be accounted for by the circumstance, that at the termination of each day's journey (with some exceptions) we were comfortably lodged for the night; moreover we had travelled almost without restraint, the gens d'armes looking only to the morning's muster, nor did this invariably occur.

On the allies crossing the Rhine, the prisoners at Bitche were strongly guarded, and in detach-

ments of fifty marched to the town of Sedan, where, according to their statements, the confinement was quite as severe, and their lodging still worse, than in the fortress they had quitted.

The advance of the Prussians made a further removal necessary, and they were transferred to the fort of Ham, in Picarde,* in detachments of similar number, under escort of a company of light infantry, a brigadier, and twelve gens d'armes. Under such a guard evasion might be thought impossible, notwithstanding several contrived to escape, of the number were two of my former companions, (Messrs. J. P. Campbell and J. Colquehoun of the navy.† They travelled five nights without entering a house. Owing to the intensity of the cold, the former had his feet frost bitten to an extent that made further effort to proceed impossible. They were unexpectedly joined in the interval by a person (Manners) who had been in the same detachment with them. In

* It is in this fort the ex-ministers of Charles X. were confined.

† They were at this period midshipmen, and now I am happy to record lieutenants.

the pitiable situation Campbell was, the party were compelled to take refuge in a cottage in an obscure village, representing themselves as conscripts; the two latter individuals, unable to afford their disabled fellow traveller any assistance, continued to move on, and ultimately reached England. In order that they might have the advantage of time, twenty-four hours elapsed before Campbell revealed the secret that he was a prisoner of war. He was immediately placed in a cart, handcuffed, and conducted by the correspondence for ten successive days, without any medical assistance being afforded, although it had been often solicited, and arrived at the small town of Guise, in Picardy, situated about 50 miles to the eastward of Amiens; the mayor of which place, with a humanity of which the previous authorities to whom his applications for relief had been made, exhibited a total disregard, immediately, and on his own responsibility, ordered my friend to the civil hospital at Guise, where every attention feeling could suggest, was shown to him. Soon afterwards the toes of his left foot were amputated. A party of cossacks took pos-

session of the town the following day, and liberated five Englishmen who had been some time there. They were aferwards compelled to retire, and the friend whose case I here represent did not regain his liberty till a period of six months afterwards. I now return to occurrences in the depôt.

At the commencement of April the Paris post had not for some days arrived. This circumstance gave rise to hopes that the allies had entered the capital. The authorities necessarily became uneasy; how to account for the delay was a matter of no little difficulty. The French people looked at each other as if to ask why has the mail been so long detained? The quiet which prevailed at Gueret at this period may be conceived. At length the 8th of April cleared all doubts. The post arrived from Blois, with intelligence that the allied sovereigns had entered Paris on the 30th of March. The papers were no longer dated from that place, and it was jocosely remarked by some of our countrymen, "that it was owing to the printing establishments being removed to the banks of the Loire." Would I were able to

convey to the reader the effect which this joyous intelligence brought to the heart of every Englishman here. The Moniteur contained a kind of bulletin, relating, in its usual style, events which had preceded the occupation of the "Gay City;" by it all good Frenchmen were called upon not to despond. A nation is not conquered with the occupation of its capital. The Emperor with considerable forces manœuvres in rear of the enemy, cutting off their reinforcements and supplies. "The barbarians will find in Paris only their graves." Printed copies of this expiring bombast of the Moniteur were posted throughout Gueret. The inhabitants reading them seemed wobegone, and if they were laughed at by those now about to be restored to their country, it was excusable.

The taking of Paris, as the French troops retired on the Loire, and necessarily nearer to us, put a stop to all letters for the depôt. We were now deprived of the possibility of receiving remittances from England, still more there was no hope of the future payment of the pittance due from the government. Many of the English at

this moment, had scarcely a sous left; notwithstanding there were none seen, as had previously been the case, to despond. A kind feeling dictated the necessity of those who had means, to prevent those who had not, from wanting. Meetings were held in one or two of the villages to consider whether an application should be made to Major Meulan, either to distribute the customary pay now due, or to order rations to be served to those who had no longer money. A feeling of pride however prevailed, and no application was made.

Our friends, the gens d'armes, (to use a common expression,) after the recent news, began to look blue, and it would have been dangerous to pass a joke on the present state of things in their presence, as there would have been double inducement to draw the sword. The dulness which I have remarked of the village residence, notwithstanding the privations which many were undergoing, began to subside. Nothing was now talked of but home and absent friends. Each hour appeared doubly long while waiting favorable accounts of the further advance of our liberators.

Not long after receipt of the news that Paris had fallen, accounts came of the entry of a column of British troops into Bordeaux. This occurrence appeared to excite almost as much astonishment in the inhabitants, as that of the occupation of the capital.

It was now expected the allies would immediately advance to the Loire, the French army, according to the bulletins, having retired towards Orleans. From the period of these favourable reports reaching us, the residents of the village were seen to assemble each night, and freely to discuss, when, and by what means our liberation would be effected. Some were of opinion that as Napoleon had still a considerable corps d'armeé entire, he would dispute the ground inch by inch with the invaders. Others, that the French troops seeing the immense reinforcements the allies were daily receiving, dispirited by successive defeats, and moreover, to save that part of France which remained untrod by their enemies, the havoc reported to have fallen on those they occupied, would abandon their chief. In either case, our

restoration to liberty was certain, yet it would be deferred to an indefinite period if the former supposition was verified. In doubt and anxiety of which, but an imperfect idea can be conveyed, we remained waiting the issue of events.

On the morning of the 12th of April, while several of our party were on the way to Gueret, a horse gen d'arme came up in great haste, going to that place. He nevertheless stopped to announce they were no longer in captivity, and that Napoleon was to be transferred to the island of Elba. This happy intelligence came speedily to us. Those, who till now had been designated prisoners, were seen to issue from their respective humble abodes, and assemble in the centre of the village, congratulating each other on the joyous occasion. The mayor, (who kept a small shop) thought there was danger to the state in allowing so many persons to congregate; putting on his tri-coloured scarf, he came and ordered us to disperse. The mandate was not only laughed at, but his worship was rather unceremoniously treated, so much so indeed, that he was near being deprived of

the revolutionary emblem which he had put on to give weight to his authority, and considering discretion as the better part of valour, he retired. While we were enjoying a laugh at the mayor's expense, a gen d'arme came in to announce to that functionary, that the white flag was to appear from the balcony of the church steeple, and moreover, he and the inhabitants were to assume the white-cockade. Three hearty cheers were now given before the shop window of his worship, a compliment he had not the politeness to acknowledge, but remained at home the remainder of the day to ponder over the uncertainty of human events, and reflect how unstable is the tenure of office.

In an hour after receipt of the happy tidings, the village must have appeared almost deserted; each bent his way to Gueret. Strong efforts were made by the younger part of my companions to be the first to arrive there; owing to this, many laughable scenes took place. An ensign of the army, (a native of the sister kingdom) desirous of attaining that object, actually took of a tight

boot, and ran with it under his arm into the town. His friends expressing surprise that he should appear thus, half-shod, brought forth the reply, "Ah! sure you don't think I mind a boot at all, when I get good news, after being five years in a d——nd frog-eating country like this."

On the Grande Place of the town, groups of our countrymen were collected. Many had, as they termed it, *hoisted* the white-cockade, to show the Frenchmen *how to do it.* The arrival of parties from the country was greeted as the reader may suppose, by a shake of the hand, and occasionally a cheer. The French military seemed completely wobegone. It is not too much to assert, that to the English now here, this must have been the happiest day of their lives; it was at least so to me. The Paris post was looked for with great anxiety, as it was expected to bring letters and money to enable us once more to reach our homes. Owing to some unaccountable occurrence, it did not reach Gueret till two days after the receipt of the intelligence brought by the gen-d'arme. Then a proclamation appeared from the

provincial government, announcing Napoleon as no longer emperor of the French, king of Italy, &c. &c. but that his future empire was the Island of Elba. The inhabitants scarcely appeared to notice the announcement. The evening of our liberation, in company with a friend, I visited the theatre; the greater part of the audience were English. On the first performer coming forward (he wore the white cockade) the hurrahs of our countrymen for some time prevented an address being delivered congratulatory of the peace which had occurred. No sooner had silence been obtained, and the performer about to commence the reading, than it was perceived two gens d'armes stationed in the orchestre, kept on their hats when all others of the assembly were without them.

Calls were instantly made "chapeau bas gens d'armes." These they disregarded for some time until the sub-perfect, who with his family occupied one of the boxes, interfered and mildly said, "that politeness at least required they should be uncovered when the rest of the audience were." Three cheers then followed for

that functionary, for which he returned thanks, calling on the French part of the audience for three cheers for the English. Never before had I witnessed so strange a scene in a theatre, and though a joyous one I cannot but remark, that certain occurrences of the evening were to be regretted; recollection of past suffering might probably be urged as an excuse by those who thought decorum unnecessary.

The common inquiry at this time was, how are we to get home? We were, indeed, far from any sea port; Bordeaux was the nearest. An English squadron had appeared in the Garonne, and many thought of proceeding there, certain that a passage to England would not be refused them. I had come to the decision to wait receipt of letters, rather than undertake on foot, another long journey. For two days nothing had been seen of the Commandant, Major Meulan the Prefect, so hostile to the inhabitants, had remained within his residence, occasionally receiving visits from the Mayor and civil authorities, who appeared to enter it as if they were fearful of being observed.

Unexpectedly on the 11th, a notice bearing the signature of the Major was issued. It was to the effect that none of the English prisoners were to attempt leaving the depôt till further orders, but that detenues would have passports delivered to them, consequently they were at liberty to return immediately to their homes.

The indignation which this announcement excited was, as may be conceived, excessive. If it emanated from the provisional government, the motive should at least have been explained, if on the contrary it was the act of Major Meulan, it amounted to insult. What right, it may be inquired, had he to designate us prisoners of war, when war between his country and ours no longer existed.

On the evening of that day some disturbances took place between our countrymen and the inhabitants. In the Café de la Prefecture, a commissary of police, with a few gens d'armes, and a detachment of the Prefect's guard, entered at eight o'clock for the purpose of (and according to custom) seeing the visitors depart, and the

Café closed. This was done with an air of authority which the English part of the company thought might have been dispensed with. Words were followed by blows, and after a severe struggle the guard was not only disarmed, but well beaten; almost at the same instant, a similar scene occurred at a distant part of the town, owing to some midshipmen removing a sign, bearing the imperial arms, which the landlord of an inn thought fit should remain, when all similar emblems had been displaced; here, likewise, our countrymen came off the victors.

The people of Gueret were excessively alarmed at these occurrences, particularly as they took place at the same hour, and in different parts of the town. They conceived it was a premeditated act, and that a conspiracy had been got up to murder the entire population, and as they termed it, sack the town. When quiet was restored, patroles of gens d'armes, and the civil guard perambulated the streets during the night, little caring how they abused any Englishman they might perchance meet with, and afterwards lodging him in the town jail.

The following day, the commandant, as he termed himself, issued placards, threatening with the severest punishment, the parties concerned in the fracas I have mentioned; and calling on those who had taken no part in them, to remain quietly in their residences and wait the issue of events. In our village all went on peaceably; the mayor still kept himself at home, probably fearful that he might experience, were he to come amongst us, as little respect for his authority, as on a former occasion. On the 12th, three captains of merchantmen, who had been captured by an American privateer, arrived at Gueret,* when they were immediately told by the authorities, they might again depart. The delay in the arrival of the post from Paris, caused great astonishment, and not less anxiety, as it was

* During my residence at Verdun, a few captains came there, having been captured by American privateers which had put into French ports to refit. Although these men had not, I need scarcely say, been captured by Frenchmen, Napoleon, nevertheless considered they were his prisoners. The American ambassador, however, claimed them on the part of his government, and they were liberated.

The exchange of persons, of our own country, so recently taken, while we were left in captivity, gave rise to feelings of no pleasing description.

expected to bring letters, and still more the essential, to enable us to perform the journey in comfort to a port of embarkation.

The post of the 13th brought me letters and money. I had been eight months without news from England; there was nothing calculated to make captivity more unbearable than this want of communication. The public papers received on this occasion, had a very different appearance, compared to the period of the authority of Napoleon. The imperial eagle now gave way for the fleur-de-lis. The type as well as the style had also changed. England was spoken of in high terms, as were likewise her allies. I observed the French people did not peruse the papers with the avidity which they had been previously seen to do.

On the 14th, Louis the 18th was proclaimed through the different streets; the procession was unattended by the French people. The Sub-Prefect, the Mayor and municipal officers, with a few gens d'armes, and a company of the Prefect's guard composed the cortage. For the first time the military assumed the white-cockade,

and, at the conclusion of the ceremony of reading the proclamation, the troops merely held up their caps. Not a cheer came, save from our countrymen, and these were given with no want of voice. During the day we were amused to observe the proprietors and keepers of cafés and shops which had the word "Imperial" inscribed on them, occupied with the brush in their removal; some replacing the omission with that of "Royal." It might have been expected that the arrival of the post would have produced some notification from the mayor relative to the pay due, as likewise specifying whether we were to travel by means allotted by government. The expectation was not only disappointed, but applications to that end met with nothing beyond these replies, "I have no instructions yet, you must wait patiently a few days."

It was evident those now remaining at Gueret, were alone waiting for funds to prosecute the journey. The orders which Parigeaux & Co. had sent on an individual here, were at this time only in part liquidated, as he declared that such was the scarcity of money

in the department, he would have to wait for its being sent from Paris. This observation was, as far as I and others had seen for some time previous, correct. On the march from Verdun we remarked in the hotels there was a great dearth of plate, such were the fears entertained of the Cossacks that a silver fork and spoon were rarely produced. It would appear that invasion, or casualities attending any change is ever with our neighbours the signal to hide their little treasure. With the exception of the fracas on the evening of the 11th, I am not aware that the inhabitants of this place had any cause whatever to complain of their visitants, and then they admitted recollections of long suffering and repeated severities were some extenuation. I have not in any part of my narrative expressed an opinion that the French people entertained feelings of dislike towards us to which they were not excited by the endless attacks and misrepresentations of their papers. It was a part and parcel of the system pursued unceasingly by the government to make us as odious as possible. That it had its effect, and in a powerful degree with

certain commandants under whom we were, I think I have sufficiently shewn.

One might have expected that the French people no longer under the rule of Napoleon, freed from contributions, exactions, &c. and above all the horrible law of the conscription which had depopulated their country as I have had occasion to remark, beyond conception, would have hailed the change now seen to occur, with feelings of joy. I have heard their apathy at this crisis accounted for. The lessons which the revolution had afforded were not entirely lost upon them. A change of party, and with it necessarily a change of government was always attended with a sacrifice of property and of life; as each party gained the ascendency, it invariably sent to the guillotine persons considered to be inimical to it. 'Buonaparte's coming to the supreme power, was not wholly free from the cruelties which had marked the acts of those who preceded him. Although removed from France, there was a party left, one too sufficiently powerful to produce a reaction, com-

prising with little exception the whole of the army, beyond this there were persons employed in the police, and others filling situations to which they had been appointed by him; the latter formed, as may be imagined, a very considerable class. Many of these men were decorated, and a still greater number in proportion in the army wore the riband of the Legion of Honor. There was not one of these men but felt an attachment to Napoleon.* The French appeared to have that morbid sensibility which results from being constantly kept under the eye of a police. No act of theirs passed unseen, no expression uttered where disaffection could be implied, that did not reach through his satellites, the Minister General of Police, the Duc de Rovigo.†

* The Legion of Honor was in itself an army.

† General Savery, (Duc de Rovigo) it will be remembered, was one of the officers who attended Napoleon on board the Bellerophon. The British Government would not allow Savery to repair to St. Helena with him. He was fearful that he might be delivered up to the Bourbon Government, and made to account for some acts connected with the horrible affair of the Duc D'Enghein, of whom General Foy admits the assassination, when he says—"Napoleon thought to

So far were the Bourbons forgotten, that many doubted whether the guillotine had spared a single individual of the family of the Capets. There was no one bold enough to tell his neighbour that their legitimate sovereign still existed, though in exile, or in any way to allude to that unfortunate race. Beyond this, the people were desirous it should not appear that they viewed the happy change with gratification. They feared that which I have alluded to, a reaction which might be attended with results not less fatal than those which marked the changes of the revolution. They were, moreover, exceedingly galled on reflecting that the change had been the work of foreigners. They could not believe, notwithstanding the magnanimous declaration of the allied monarchs, that "it was not their desire to see France dismembered, but on the contrary, she should be powerful, to hold

repair a political error, by an abominable act, in whatever point of view it is considered. The head of the Duc D'Enghein was then offered as a sacrifice to his own uneasiness and to the alarms of the revolutionists." It is to be regretted that some disclosures were not forced from Savery, Fouchè, and their satellites, not only as regarded the murder of that prince, but likewise of our unfortunate countryman, Captain Wright.

the balance in civilized Europe," they would retire without making the French people pay the expenses of the invasion. Nor did the proclamation of Louis XVIII, which now appeared, declaring, "no more conscriptions would be drawn, that property, whatever its description, should be held sacred in the then possessors, and the youth of France, no longer for ambition's sake, would be required to fight, thousands of miles from their country," suffice to cause this change to be received in the way which the reader will conceive such declarations and assurances were calculated to inspire.

Secret arrests had filled the state prisons to an extent that made it necessary to remove numbers to gaols in the more remote parts of the country. During our residence at Blois, twelve carriages, filled with these unfortunate people, were seen to traverse that city under a strong escort of gens d'armes, going to Poictiers. There is probably no country where imprisonment is more considered as the preferable mode of punishing crime, than in France. Hence we see persons incarcerated, even for trivial offences, for years.

On an occasion when I passed a night in a gaol during the march from Cherbourg to Cambrai, there was a man who had then been in a dungeon (and this I had from the gaoler) for the period of ten years, for having been found guilty of poisoning his mistress, owing to connexion with a family of distinction, the punishment, which otherwise would have been death, was committed to solitary confinement for life. Would it not have been humanity to have ended his existence rather than thus, to use a common expression, bury him for life. I had a great desire to see the being thus so long hid, but could not prevail on his keeper, though he was immediately under the room where the gaoler had allowed myself and my companion (being previously remunerated) to pass the night. I had met, on two occasions, when travelling by the correspondence, soldiers condemned to move unremittingly, for the period of five years, from gaol to gaol, under escort. This novel mode of punishment was adapted to deter conscripts following their example, which had for its object getting quit of military service. One had cut off his right hand

with a hatchet, the other had broken his leg in three places. Frequently have I met with fathers travelling from prisons, to take their trials before the courts at the principal towns of the departments, on the grave charge of harbouring their sons after desertion.

The Prefect, of whose proceedings towards the inhabitants, I have already spoken, now thought the time arrived when he might quietly depart. In that expectation, however, he was disappointed; scarcely had he entered his carriage when one of our countrymen made an attempt to drag him from it. He instantly drew forth a pistol declaring he would shoot the first person who might interfere with him. The sentry witnessing this occurrence came immediately from his post, and had it not been for the persuasion of several Englishmen, who actually employed force to take their friend away, the result might have been lamentable.*

On the day of this occurrence, Major Meulan, it was asserted, received a challenge from a British officer; why it was declined, I never

* That person was Lord Boyle.

heard. Unpleasant as these matters were, it was not surprising if bitter feeling existed, after years of vexatious suffering. There were at Gueret many individuals of rank and even title who had, during their captivity, been subjected to brutal treatment, particularly when on the way to their depôts, not only from gens d'armes, but likewise the officers placed over them, and if they now retaliated upon their oppressors it was excusable.

On the 18th of April, I had made every preparation to depart, disregarding Major Meulan's injunction, as to remaining till further orders. Two of my friends, detenues, had received their passports, and were to leave the following day. My request (although I was not provided with a similar document) that I might accompany them, they kindly acceded to.

CHAPTER IV.

DEPARTURE FROM GUERET——OCCURRENCES OF THE JOURNEY TILL ARRIVING AT ORLEANS——THE REMAINS OF THE IMPERIAL GUARD AT THAT PLACE——MEETING THE EX-PREFECT OF GUERET THERE——SCENE AT A TABLE D'HOTE AT ORLEANS, &c.

My companions had hired horses for the day's journey, which was to bring us to the direct road to Orleans; the owner, a countryman, was to attend, to reconduct them to Gueret. It was thought necessary that I should proceed on foot some distance from the town, to avoid suspicion, and wait their arrival. Accordingly, on the morning of the 19th April, I bid adieu to old friends, and proceeded about two miles on the road to La Souteraine. I met several Englishmen going to attend muster, and which had been some days notified at Gueret. They were sur-

prised on ascertaining the object of my travelling in an opposite direction to them, and endeavoured to prevail on me to return, as I was sure to be arrested by gens d'armes."

Mounting a hill to the left of the road, I sat down to wait for my companions. The view from this spot was really beautiful, commanding almost the entire line of road to my former residence. While contemplating the scenery, and thinking how happy I should be when once within the advanced posts of the allies, three gens d'armes appeared on the summit of a hill, further to the right; I immediately lay down, and had the satisfaction to see them pass on the road not many yards below me, in an opposite direction to that on which our journey lay. At eleven o'clock, my friends and their attendant came up. The latter having dismounted, I took his horse, we then proceeded through one of the most romantic countries I had ever travelled in. On all the village steeples the white flag was displayed, and there was scarcely a cottage that did not exhibit some emblem of similar colour. At about three o'clock we alighted at a small auberge,

and took refreshment. Immediately afterwards, a gen d'arme accidently came in to light his pipe. As may be conceived, my fellow travellers had nothing to fear from this visiter; he soon entered into conversation, inquiring the news at Gueret, and where we were going. I fancied I almost heard him ask for passports. One of my friends anticipating they would be required, said, I presume you would like to see our passports, at the same time handing his own; the gen d'arme merely glanced at it, saying, I see it is quite in order, do not trouble yourselves.

This narrow escape caused amusement at intervals during the afternoon, and I augured from it a favourable journey.

At seven o'clock we arrived at an inn on the road to Chateauroux, and obtained very comfortable accommodation. The countryman likewise took up his abode there for the night. There were four dragoons quartered in this house, who had belonged to the corps of Marshal Marmont, and were then on their way to their homes. Two were slightly wounded in the action before Paris. I observed they still

wore the tri-coloured cockade. We obtained much information from these people, as regarded recent events. According to their representations, there would be no inconsiderable danger in travelling on the high road to Paris, as it was covered with disbanded troops, infuriated, and mad at the disasters which had occurred, and requiring every traveller they met to cry Vive L'Empereur. By their accounts we should have to pass through columns of Spaniards returning to their homes, who they seemed to think were quite as dangerous as the disbanded soldiers. The occupation of the capital, in the opinion of these men was entirely the effect of treason, they and their chief had been betrayed. This was ever the case when a reverse of fortune attended the French armies. They enveighed bitterly against Marmont, asserting, that he had been paid a large sum of money to give up the capital. Assertions, coming from such a quarter, are scarcely worth recording. Napoleon being sent to the island of Elba, they considered a great cruelty, he should have obtained an armistice of a week, to collect sufficient troops to beat back the invaders.

While preparing to leave the following morning for Chateauroux, (in a light cart, the only vehicle we could procure) a courier charged with despatches from Marshal Soult for the provisional Government entered the inn yard, he remained only while a fresh horse was being got ready; in the interval one of my companions ventured to inquire the news from the south. We now learned the entry of the British army into Toulouse after a severe battle; he evidently did not take my friend to be an Englishman, as he gave vent to his wrath in forcible terms against our countrymen when relating the occurrence. The information given us the previous evening by the dragoons, as to the parties on the road was fully corroborated, as we scarcely proceeded a mile before meeting groups of disbanded soldiers, as likewise Spaniards. The greater part of the former were in a state of intoxication. Their ferocious looks, and still more rough manner, were indeed calculated to excite alarm. There was a recklessness about these men beyond description. We were compelled at various parts of the journey, to join in their favourite cry of

Vive L'Empereur. There was not a cabaret but had its full complement of these lawless visiters, singing and carousing, so as to be heard at a considerable distance from the habitations. It was impossible to surmise how means were obtained to pay for what they consumed. There were many dragoons mixed with them, several were endeavouring to sell their horses to the inhabitants of a small village, through which we passed. I apprehend they would not be bought, as each had the government mark.

Owing to the annoyances to which I have alluded, we did not reach our destination till near six o'clock in the evening. Chateauroux was filled with visiters, composed of soldiers and Spaniards. As on the road, the former were intoxicated, quarrelling with the innkeepers and the inhabitants. It occurred to me, that a place taken by these men must have to endure every kind of evil. If they could behave thus in their own country, what would they not do in that of an enemy, over whom they had been victorious. The greater part of the unfortunate Spaniards lay in the streets,

collected in groups. Fortunately for them the weather was warm; wrapped in a blanket and smoking a paper segar, the Spaniard appeared content. The next stage was to Vierzon. The landlord of our inn was desirous of sending a fiacre to Paris, and offered it to us at a cheap rate, provided we would pay a gen d'arme as the escort, in order to appear as if under his charge, conceiving the carriage would not be injured by any of the soldiery we might meet with. It is almost unnecessary to observe, that situated, as I was without a passport, a gend'arme was not a person near whom I should like to sit. We therefore hired a cart, and continued the journey, meeting with far less obstruction from the military, than on the preceding day. During the morning, three carriages belonging to Ferdinand the 7th, passed, as likewise the stud (as it was stated) of Prince Jerome Napoleon, going to the south.

The following day's journey brought us to the inconsiderable town of Lafertè, it was a long and tiresome ride. There were but few Spaniards or soldiers seen the entire of the way. Now

at an inconsiderable distance from Orleans, on the morning of the 24th, we proceeded on foot, and once more reached that fine city, about noon.

Here the remains of the Imperial Guard were collected, as well as considerable bodies of troops which had recently fought before Paris. There was not one amongst them seen to wear the white cockade, a circumstance which excited our surprise, as most of the authorities and inhabitants had now sent in their adhesion to the new government.

An interest was excited when looking on these warriors, and if a frown hung on their brows, it resulted from mortification at seeing their country occupied by foreign armies, and Napoleon sent into exile. We remarked, that in the various parties of soldiers met with on our journey, there were none of the Imperial Guard. Repairing to an hotel, on the Grande Place, to dine at a table d'hote, the first person we beheld was the ex-prefect of Gueret. He cast at us a look of indignation, doubtless, resulting from the recent attack made upon him by one of our countrymen, and to which I have alluded. At

first, one of my companions thought this ci-devant functionary was about to address to us some insulting remark; he, however, confined his hostility to indignant glances, during the dinner. Of all the parties I had ever attended, none formed so singular a coup d'œil as that at Orleans. The greater part of the company were officers of the Imperial Guard: several were suffering from recent wounds. There were likewise three females attired in undress military costume. Blue frock coats, closely buttoned, and trowsers striped with red, drawn close over their boots. Each had a foraging cap with a gold band and small cockade. These followers of their military husbands, or protectors, were excessively dark complexioned, and had it not been for the banded hair discovered when the cap was taken off, it would have been difficult to decide as to their sex, so much had they the look of young subalterns. Their object in assuming the dress of men, must have been that of convenience in travelling, and more particularly when going through the extraordinary scenes of a military life. I observed, our friend the Prefect was the

first to quit the table. Pacing before the room window in the Grande Place, I began to suspect he was on the look-out for a gen d'arme, or police officer, and that one of these worthies might be induced to require our passports, in which event I should have to repose once more in a prison. Communicating my suspicions to my fellow-travellers, it was decided we should hire any kind of vehicle offering, and proceed that afternoon towards Paris. When applying to the master of the hotel, to ascertain where a conveyance might be met with, he said that he had one which would precisely suit us. It had conveyed three wounded officers here from Paris, with directions from the owner to endeavour to re-hire it to some party visiting that place. When brought into the yard, a surgeon of the Guard came to inquire if we were going to Paris, and as the vehicle was calculated to carry four persons, whether we would allow him to accompany us on paying his proportion. To this no objection was offered.

CHAPTER V.

DEPARTURE FROM ORLEANS——OUR NEW COMPANION——OCCURRENCES DURING THE EVENING AT THE VILLAGE AT TOURY——ARRIVAL WITHIN THE ADVANCED POSTS OF THE ALLIES——FAVORABLE RECEPTION GIVEN BY THE OFFICER IN COMMAND——ARRIVAL AT PARIS.

AFTER waiting a short time for our French fellow-traveller to remove his uniform, and habit himself in Bourgeois, we quitted Orleans a little after four o'clock. It was soon perceived that (like the generality of his countrymen) to him it was a matter of no mean difficulty to travel in silence. He talked incessantly, his observations and general conversation, however, shewed that he was an exception to the common asserted rule, that when people talk a great deal, they must necessarily talk nonsense. He

appeared to be 50 to 55 years of age, good looking, and with a manner superior to the generality of the officers of the French army at this period. Thirty years service had given him a weather-beaten look. He served in Egypt as assistant surgeon in a regiment of infantry; 15 months in Spain as surgeon, and was one of the few of his profession who escaped the disasters of the memorable retreat from Moscow; afterwards he was present at the battles of Lutzen, Boutzen, and Leipsic. The reader may conceive how great an acquisition such a person must have been to our small party. His thanks were frequently repeated for the accommodation afforded him by a place in our vehicle. A request of a curious description was made by our friend, not long after quitting Orleans. It was, that in the event of his being stopped at the advanced posts of the allies, we would intercede with the superior officer in command to allow him to prosecute the journey to Paris. The assurance was given, coupled with the remark, that we doubted much whether such an application coming from him would not have more

effect, as we were totally unacquainted with the officer who might have power to grant it. He replied, all I know is that whoever he or they may be, they must necessarily be friends of yours as allies, adding jocosely, they, you know, cannot be friends of mine. Having thus secured our services in case of need, I considered it not impossible that I might require aid from him, and therefore communicated freely that I was travelling without a passport, if stopped by a gen d'arme or a police officer, and called upon to produce the necessary document finding me without it, I should be detained, if not re-conducted to Gueret. Fear not, sir, he said, I will take care in such event that you are not left alone: you have certainly been fortunate in coming thus far without being asked for a passport, any fears which you may now have, will very soon terminate, as we shall be within the posts of the invaders early to-morrow. The conversation now turned on the situation of the allies, whether the French army would, forgetting Napoleon, enlist under the banners of the Bourbons. At the name of Na-

poleon he became excessively excited, asserting that "no one could have been more infamously "used. If you will allow me, gentlemen, I "will give my opinion how the emperor has "acted foolishly. He is still my sovereign, he "gave me this (pointing to the Riband of the "Legion of Honour) besides he promoted me, "and although after thirty years service, I find "myself without a sous beyond my pay, yet "I still owe him a great deal. The worst thing "he ever did, was engaging in the war with "Spain; it was not likely that a people would "see their country quietly occupied by the "armies of another power, their king decoyed and "made prisoner. No one knows the Spaniards "better than I do; it was a happy thing for "me to be removed from amongst them. Then "his marrying in the way he did, disgusted every "one; had he selected a wife from amongst "French women, it would have been thought "little of. It was owing to making an Aus-"trian princess his wife, that the unfortunate "attack followed on Russia, as he was certain

"of the co-operation of his father-in-law.* The "kings of Saxony and Prussia could not refuse "to join in that invasion no more than the "petty princes of the confederation of the Rhine. "They were all as you must know, subject to "his will. That horrible affair of Moscow "destroyed our army: never since then has "France been able to make head. The soldiers "we had at Lutzen and in the battles succeeding "were most of them young, though they fought "well, yet what can be done against superior "numbers."

Speaking of the occupation of Paris, he said, "Ah! that is a blow which Frenchmen ought "never to forget. We have beaten, time after "time, these very men: frost and snow have done

* This was the first time I had heard of Napoleon's marriage with Marie Louisa coupled with the invasion of Russia. The surgeon was the only person to whom so strange an opinion could be attributed. I have already stated that the marriage in question was the only act of his the French dared to take a liberty with, so far as turning it into ridicule, and I am certain, had they coincided in our fellow-traveller's opinion at a later period when the Russian campaign had ended, they would not have been backward in attributing Napoleon's ambitious design to the assistance of the emperor of Austria.

"what the invaders could not, nor will they "ever be able, to effect: destroyed our armies. "They come forward now as victors, do they? "but stop a little; France is not yet conquered: "all we want is time. When the Imperial "Guard is reorganized, and reinforced, their look "will be sufficient to make these foreigners run, "as they have often done. But, he continued, "after all, they would never have entered Paris, "had there not been treason. Marshal Ney "deceived the emperor, on his return from "the capital to Fontainbleau, in asserting the "troops would no longer fight. Never was "there a greater lie. I defy him to show me the "soldier who would not have preferred perishing "rather than see Paris occupied as it is. The "emperor knew soon afterwards how greatly he "had been deceived, and at one time even thought "of putting himself at the head of his Guard, "but having signed his abdication, he could not "retract. Of Marmont, he asserted, that after "the affair of Salamanca, (here he glanced at "us) where he ought to have destroyed your "army, instead of which he was defeated, it

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"was madness to intrust him with any command, "let alone such an important one as the defence "of the capital. It was not only Marmont, but "there were several others, who behaved ill on "that day; for wherever a want of intelligence "exists, there is sure to be disaster.* I was "not with my regiment on that day, having to "attend four of our officers who had been se- "verely wounded a short time before, but I have "learned from those who were there, that at "intervals there was no superior officer to be "found, to direct the movements. After all, "war is terrible; France wants peace, I admit, "and why could she not have it, and the emperor "still remain. Our soldiers would then be "satisfied, be assured, they are not so now." Our companion's tongue requiring a short rest, for he had ran over these remarks rapidly, he said, "I do not like to say too much. It can "do me no good, we must wait a little: things "will not remain long thus."

* This observation, as regarded the treason, reminded me of the excuse made by the dragoons, (with whom we had met at the inn, on the road to Chateauroux) for the entry of the allies into Paris.

From the tenor of the latter observation, it was evident he thought a reaction, if not certain, at least possible. After a short pause, we inquired who the females were, seated at the table d'hote, in the early part of the afternoon, in male attire. "They are all married women," he replied. "The one very brown, has been long accus- "tomed to attend her husband in his campaigns. "She is a very clever woman, and speaks Spanish "and German perfectly. I saw you were asto- "nished to see them enter. The reason they "dress in men's attire is, they can move more at "their ease. When a sudden march has to be "made, they have less baggage to look to than "if otherwise habited. I suppose your officer's "wives never follow them in war, yet I remember "having seen a great many English women at "Salamanca, who had been left behind when "your army retreated. Two of them were very "ill, and I attended them for several days. "One was a handsome young woman: she had "a child with her. When sufficiently recovered, "they were sent, under a flag of truce, to Lord

"Wellington's army. Every attention was shown "during the time they were with us." I told him it afforded me pleasure to hear it, as I had met with soldiers' wives, who had fallen into the power of his countrymen, giving a very different account. "Of course, you must be aware," he observed, "when off duty, the officer has not "always his eye upon his men, and I am quite "sure if the women you speak of were badly "used by our soldiers, it must have been un- "known to those who held the command, otherwise "they would have been punished severely." I inquired how it occured that the immense number of wounded Frenchmen who arrived at Verdun after the battle of Leipsic, were unattended by medical officers. His answer was, "such "were the various positions of the different corps "of our army, after being compelled to cross "the Rhine, that it would have been necessary "to augment the number of surgeons ten times "greater than had ever been done. Besides, no "army was seen with so many sick and disabled "as ours at that period. Many of the surgeons "had died, others were made prisoners. You

"can form no idea what we had to undergo. "The soldier, after a battle, has rest, but we "never obtain it till long afterwards. The "wounded you speak of, at Verdun, were not "long there without assistance, as doctors and "medical students were sent from Paris to attend "them. I saw many of your countrymen, when "I passed through that depôt; they appeared "quite as well off as if they had been in England."

This was a very general remark of French officers. They little knew how the English residents of Verdun had been treated at various times in that depôt. At eight o'clock, after a pleasant ride (much amused with our new companion, who did not allow the conversation to flag an instant the entire of the way) we came to an inn in the village of Toury, on the direct road to Paris; when about to take supper, our host asked permission for three gentlemen, who had that moment entered, to join our party; the request was acceded to, and they entered with the bows and scrapes for which Frenchmen, it will be admitted, are unrivalled. These persons were just returned from England, after a long residence

there as prisoners of war. One spoke our language tolerably well, a circumstance not surprising, when it is told that he had been nine years in captivity; a short time sufficed to acquaint us they had left the shores of Albion with bitter, as well as uncharitable feelings towards her inhabitants generally. No sooner had they ascertained we were natives of that kingdom, than a tirade of abuse followed as uncalled for, as it was indicative of their ignorance; when recapitulating the occurrences of their imprisonment. To them nothing we had had to contend with could at all equal their sufferings. One of the party had been some time confined on board a prison ship, at Portsmouth, (for what offence he did not however state,) the treatment he endured on that occasion, no one would credit. The English prisoners in France were never kept under restraint. The French people had humanity, but the English, and more particularly the militiamen, had none. It was entirely the fault of our government, there had been no exchange during the long war; besides Napoleon never detained persons unless they belonged to the

army or navy; on the contrary, they were freely permitted to return to their country. In giving vent to their indignation, or rather I should say when making statements, as false as they were malicious, these worthies displayed an anxiety to surpass each other as regarded who should have the more lengthened opportunity to calumnate a country proverbial for its humanity, and which had afforded refuge as well as maintenance to the unfortunate emigrant, when compelled to fly from France, (as thousands had been) to avoid the axe of the executioner to which they were doomed by a committee of public safety. We had been sufficiently long at this time in France to ascertain that it is folly to attempt to reason with these people till excitement has passed away. Silence being restored, one of my companions mildly recapitulated the charges brought against our nation, by these visiters. He soon convinced our fellow traveller, (the surgeon) we were not of a country, in which humanity (as the libellers had attempted to induce him to conceive) was unknown.

Misrepresentation, it is said, ever requires

clamour to support it; theirs had the addition of jesture and grimace. Truth needs no such auxiliaries, and the Frenchmen soon began to find that my friend, whose talents and education placed him far above them, could not only disprove their foul assertions, but showed that England was, and (may it be hoped she ever will remain) the envy of surrounding nations. The barbarous decree of 1811, which condemned to six years irons prisoners of war attempting to escape, the parties spoken of, could not credit; fortunately our friend having it in his possession, the authenticity was no longer deniable. There remained only the surprise as to the object which Napoleon had in view, when issuing so s trange an edict. In answer to the inquiry whether they had ever seen Frenchmen conducted chained or in handcuffs on the roads in England, they declared never. Bitche, where English prisoners were kept under ground they had not heard of. Their pay and allowance had never been purloined by the officers placed over them; consequently there was not the necessity such as General Wirion and his associates had been actuated by, (in

order to escape punishment,) to commit suicide. They affected astonishment when told that I who belonged neither to the navy or army, should have been held prisoner five years in their country, and still more, that the other two of our party, had been here during the whole period of the war, having come to France on the faith of a passport.

The visiters not relishing the turn which the conversation had taken, now thought it the hour to retire to rest, they were evidently unprepared for the castigation which my friend had (in language too, differing widely from the style they adapted when traducing England) dealt out to them. Hoping that no offence had been given, and being assured of the fact, they retired.

The surgeon who paid great attention to all that had been said now complimented our companion, not only on the patience he exhibited, but likewise the powerful manner in which he combatted the unwarranted attack of these strangers.

At nine o'clock on the morning of the 25th, without seeing more of the intruders of the previous

evening, we proceeded for the town of Estamps, near which the advanced posts of the allies were said to be. I was exceedingly anxious to get a glance at them, as I could not consider myself beyond the authority of a gen d'arme till I reached the liberators. This anxiety afforded the surgeon considerable amusement; he undertook to point them out. Occasionally, as the dust was seen to rise on the road, he said, "Here they come: now pay attention," &c. &c. When the party came up, it turned out to be women mounted on asses, or countrymen from the market at Estamps. These disappointments invariably produced a laugh at my expense. The surgeon stopped several of the women, to inquire how they liked their new sweethearts, the Cossacks, at which they were excessively indignant. One old woman dismounted from her ass, and threw stones at our carriage, though without effect. Soon afterwards our fellow traveller called my attention to two men sitting (in a position with their legs across) on an embankment, a few yards from the road. "These are the advanced post of the enemy," he said; "they are two

regular Cossacks." They were enjoying the fumes of a pipe, their horses (which were small and poor) grazed as far as the limit of a cord would allow, fastened to a spear thurst in the ground, a few yards from them.

As we proceeded, troops of Cossacks passed coming from the town. They wore a plain uniform of grey; with trowsers of large dimensions, stripped with red; their jackets were ornamented with three rows of small white buttons, and the caps of bear-skin. It surprised us to find these people, of whom so much had been said, rather under the middle stature, and on expressing thus much to our French companion, he replied, "Wait till you get to Paris, there you will see very different kind of men with their armies." On reaching the gates of Estamps there were two field pieces pointing to the main road. Double sentries were here posted, and a lighted match was placed near each gun. As we entered, an officer came to inquire for our passports. The surgeon and myself being unprovided, the postillion was directed to

follow at a slow pace, a soldier charged to escort us to the commandant of the town. We were then ushered into the presence of a Prussian colonel, a fine looking man, apparently between 50 and 60 years of age. On ascertaining we were English he received us with great affability, and desired we would be seated. To our companion he pointed to a chair, without asking him to sit down, a slight which he seemed to feel acutely. He was asked the object of his visit to Paris, replying it was to see a relative from whom he had to receive a sum of money, beyond this he had no object, and should immediately return to join his regiment at Orleans. "My orders are," said the colonel, "not to allow any officer or soldier of the army of the Loire to pass our posts. Pray, what is your rank?" he asked. "I am a staff-surgeon," he replied, "attached to the service of the Imperial Guard." "In that case," said the commandant, "as you are in a civil capacity, I will consult with a brother officer as to whether we ought to allow you to proceed." That officer was sent for, when a consultation was carried on for a short time, but which we could not hear.

The commandant, turning to our companion said, "We are of opinion that you may proceed, on the condition, that the place of your intended residence in Paris, is given, and that you report yourself in 24 hours after arriving, to the Baron Muffling, the commandant. To this our wobegone friend complied, immediately writing his address. A secretary then made out his passport, afterwards I and my companions received ours.

I confess I felt somewhat for the person here named, as there was wounded pride depicted in his countenance during the interview. To him, it must have indeed been heart-rending, to see these officers placed with superior authority in his (and as he designated it) degraded country. Conceiving the colonel and his brother officer had a desire to have some conversation with us, our companion left, saying, "I will leave you for half an hour, and will wait till your being ready to proceed."

No sooner had he departed than we received an invitation to dine, observing at the same time, that our companion had no need to wait. This was declined, owing to our desire to reach

Paris before nightfall; being entire strangers there, it was more than probable we should not meet with lodgings till a very late hour, the city being, as we were led to understand, crowded to excess with strangers from almost every country. "In that you are entirely right," said the colonel; "at all events, you have sufficient time to take refreshment." This was immediately ordered, and while it was being brought in they made numerous inquiries as to the state of the country, the feelings of the French people at the recent important changes, how the troops we had seen at Orleans, and other parts of the road, conducted themselves. The answers to which they appeared to anticipate. Many questions followed relative to our captivity, how we managed to pass away the time, &c. above all, what we thought of the French women.

From the information gathered during our short stay with these officers, it appeared that although the allies received several checks in their advance to Paris, they never for a moment doubted finally gaining that city. In speaking of the severity of the weather during the march

from Verdun to Blois, the strangers smiled, and the question followed, "but suppose you had had to fight as well as march, what would you have thought of it then?" Several inquiries were then put relative to the position of the British army under the Duke of Wellington, its strength, and if it would pass through France to embark for England. To these, I need scarcely say, we could not form an opinion, much less give a correct reply. There was some excellent white wine on the table, of which these officers seemed to partake freely. Our opinions were asked whether it was the produce of this part of France, here we were as obtuse as in the preceding inquiries. Turning towards the window, I perceived the surgeon pacing in the street, waiting our egress. I named this to my companions, "never mind," said one of our hosts, "we must drink the health of your Prince Regent: he has done a great deal in bringing about this change." Afterwards one of our party proposed his Prussian Majesty, and the allied sovereigns. I could not but reflect

how extroardinary was the scene I now witnessed; five years previous, had any one told me we should be restored to our homes through the instrumentality of foreigners, the prophecy would not only have been treated with ridicule, but the prognosticator would have been considered as insane. Thanking the officers alluded to for their hospitality, we rejoined the surgeon and immediately proceeded on the journey. Now beyond the authority of a gen d'arme, the reader may conceive how happy I felt.

Our postillion, not less anxious to reach Paris than ourselves, drove on with rapidity. We found detachments of troops quartered in the different villages, likewise others bivouaced in the fields contiguous to them. There was nothing in the appearance of these men indicative of great strength, nor had they the soldier-like look of the French. Their horses were small and in poor condition. The greater part, we were given to understand, were Cossacks with some of the landwher;* the number of the

*The landwher is a force, as I have understood, of similar description to our militia.

latter seen to enter France with the Prussian army was very considerable. The surgeon, was excessively mortified at the reception he had met with at Estamps, from the officers in command there. The vivacity which had made his company so agreeable, was now gone: for some time after quitting, scarcely an observation escaped him, and to the inquiry if he was indisposed, he replied yes: how should it be otherwise, when I am treated by these fellows in the way you have witnessed. What appeared to grieve him exceedingly, was having to report his arrival to the commandant at Paris, a Russian or Prussian officer attached to the allied armies. On approaching the capital, a patrol of Russian cavalry of the guard, in green uniform, passed. As regarded both man and horse, they greatly exceeded any we had seen since arriving within the posts of our liberators. At six o'clock we reached the gates of the renowned city; contrary to expectation, there were no sentries there save a few custom-house officers who immediately came and examined our vehicle, first

inquiring, if we had any merchandise to report subject to octroi dues; replying in the negative, we were permitted to proceed. It surprised our companion, we were not required to produce passports, it was, he said, the first time he had entered Paris so freely. He now addressed us, "Gentlemen, as you have been very attentive to me, and being entire strangers in this large place, if you desire it, I will endeavour to procure you lodgings at an hotel, kept by a friend of mine, in the Rue St. Honoré: Paris, you must be aware, is at this moment thronged with visiters, and you will find it difficult to obtain anything like good accommodation." This act of kindness was duly acknowledged, and we requested he would direct our conductor to drive to the hotel kept by his acquaintance. As we proceeded, I found Paris not so magnificent as I been led to anticipate, the streets being exceedingly narrow, and not in the cleanest condition. The exterior of their houses are of stone, and their height considerable; although ornamented, there is a want of the neatness

which cannot fail to please a stranger as he approaches London. The motly groups of persons perambulating the streets, and among them were uniforms of endless description, (though no red coat could be perceived) gave to Paris the appearance of a place far inferior to the rank which the French assign to it, viz. the most splendid city in Europe.* On remarking thus much to our fellow traveller, he replied "wait till to-morrow, and you will be delighted." At a little before seven o'clock, we arrived at the Rue St. Honoré. The landlord of the hotel, at the intercession of our friend, agreed to accommodate us, at the same time taking care to impress upon us how great a favour he conferred. To such an

* Unless the reader has visited Paris, he can form no idea of the filthy state of the streets; a great number of which have no parapet walk. The channel runs in the centre. After rain, and when the aqueducts are stopped, and which not unfrequently occurs, owing to decayed vegetables or off-falls being thrown from the houses, the greater part of the street resembles a canal; foot passengers are often to be observed standing erect against the houses, (so narrow are the passages) to avoid not only the splash, but likewise the wheel of the hackney coach, omnibus, or fiacre.

extent was his house crowded, that he had been compelled to refuse admission to several applicants. Our postillion was now paid, and the surgeon again thanking us, took his departure, previously promising a visit the following day.

CHAPTER VI.

A GLANCE AT PARIS——UNEXPECTED MEETING WITH FORMER FELLOW CAPTIVES——ARRIVALS FROM ENGLAND ——MARSHAL BLUCHER——THE ALLIED TROOPS——THE SOVEREIGNS, &c.

THE promise of our recent fellow traveller was not forgotten, he came at an early hour the next morning to afford us an opportunity of beholding the most remarkable edifices of the capital. As the reader may suppose, the Palais Royal, which lay but at a short distance from our hotel, was the first place repaired to.* On reaching

* I believe there is no place in Paris, to which our curious countrymen so soon resort as to the far-famed Palais Royal. At this period, though in an unfinished state, (there being a wooden passage crossing the garden where the Orleans gallery now is) yet the scenes at this period, 1814, had a novelty, owing to crowds of Foreigners, and exhibitions which the more *sage* may consider now very properly dispensed with, that in all probability will never again be equalled.

the garden our friend placing his hands to his sides, and with a look as if he anticipated the reply, inquired have you anything so superb as this in England? In order to enable me the better to answer the inquiry, I was regarding the architecture of the buildings, when the hand of some one touched my shoulder, an idea of my astonishment may be conceived, when I say it was my old and valued friend, with whom, in 1811, an attempt was made to escape from Auxonne, and which it may be recollected ended with our recapture on the island of South Beveland, and a long confinement in the Fortress of Bitche. Happy as this meeting was, it nevertheless revealed information of a melancholy nature; inquiring for former companions, I learned the death of several with whom I had passed through scenes of great privation, whose mirth and constant desire for frolic had many a time kept me from desponding in that place to which I have so often had occasion to allude. It appeared that in the depôt of Longwi, several owing to some epidemic disorder appearing there had died; others from fatigue and inclemency of

the weather while on march, ended their days in hospitals.

Perambulating for some time the garden and colonades, likewise viewing the shops, cafès, &c. &c. a remark from our conductor, that the Palais Royal was best seen at night, induced us to proceed to the Thuilleries. On reaching the Place du Carrousel, the passage was for some time obstructed by two regiments of Prussian infantry, with four field pieces, which had to defile there. This detension, owing moreover to its being caused by foreign troops, put our friend, the surgeon, quite out of humour. He endeavoured to console himself by making ludicrous comparisons between these men and the soldiers of his ci-devant emperor. The gun carriages and caissons, now seen, certainly did appear far behind (as regarded neatness of construction) those of the French. When reaching the triumphal arch, opposite the centre gate of the palace, our companion took great pains in explaining the views (cast in bronze) descriptive of the memorable exploits of the grande armeè, which appear on that light and

elegant edifice. The celebrated Venetian horses attached to the car of Victory, which surmounted this arch, had a brilliant effect.* Entering the court-yard of the Thuilleries, and examining minutely the whole front of that extensive building, thence traversing the arched passage which leads to the gardens, it was observed that the marks of musket shots, which had defaced the walls in the memorable occurrences of 1789, were still visible.†

While admiring the splendid view afforded from the extremity of this passage, of the gardens of the Thuilleries, two individuals, attired in Bourgeois, recognized our friend. They were officers of his regiment, who had come here to obtain appointments under the new government. Although out of uniform, (their clothing had a thread-bare appearance) it was easy to discover

* These were removed on the second occupation of Paris, and are, if report be correct, once more restored to their lawful owners. There is now a similar group on this arch: it is considered much inferior to that replaced.

† They are no longer to be traced, the cavities having been filled up with cement and coloured with the walls. On a recent visit to Paris, I found many of the houses which had been defaced by balls, during the three memorable days of July, 1830, no longer bore traces of the conflict.

their profession to be military. A conversation was carried on for some time by them, with great animation, the particulars of which, as we were at some distance, was unknown to us. At length the surgeon came to state his regret at being obliged to leave, having an engagement of a particular nature, but that he would visit us the following day. Perambulating these beautiful gardens, in which were to be seen persons of almost every country in Europe, the greater part officers of different grades attached to corps of the allied troops, made it difficult to reconcile the fact that we were in the same country which had made us so familiar with gaolers and gens d'armes. In the avenue, extending the entire length of the gardens, from the esplanade, in rear of the palace, to the gate, at the Place Louis Quinze, motley were the groups seated under the shade of the lofty trees through which it passes. Here were officers from those of the Russian guard to that of the Cossack in familiar conversation with the Parisian against whom they had been seen contending in battle but a short time preceding. If astonishing, it was not the

less pleasing, to observe the French mix with their invaders, as it proved they did not participate in the inveteracy which the military retained towards them. The remark is not uncommon, that there are no people who so easily put up with an evil, which they have not the means of preventing, than the French. With a shrug of the shoulders, and the "que voulez vous," Monsieur contents himself under the weight of grievances which an Englishman could not endure.* Numbers of our countrymen had now arrived in Paris: their dress and manner so totally different from the French people, necessarily made them objects of remark, (not invariably made in the best natured way) by the Parisians. Nor did they afford less amusement to such of their countrymen who now, emancipated from captivity, were about to revisit their homes.

While seated on chairs, under shade of the trees already mentioned, and for which an old dame speedily demanded two sous, as the hire, three of these recent arrivals following our

* I believe it is their countryman, Voltaire, who describes them all tigers or monkeys.

example, seated themselves close by us. Their remarks upon the softer sex of the Parisian population, as they promenaded past, were too ludicrous for repetition. It appeared that the small foot, neat ankle, and studied step of the French women, did not accord with the ideas of these visiters. On one of my companions addressing an observation in English, they were excessively surprised, ejaculating, "What! are you an Englishman? We should not have taken you for one, by your dress." The remark though certainly not complimentary, did not surprise. Unfortunately we had been too long absent from that country to have the clothing and the cut, by which alone they considered their fellow-countrymen were to be recognised. The conversation and remarks of these persons could not fail to afford amusement. Our inquiries were freely answered, as related to their opinions of the French people, &c. Paris had been their residence but three weeks, it was however quite long enough. In coming here, one had joined the pursuit of pleasure to the more sober one

of business. The others had been actuated by curiosity, and a desire that their friend should not boast of seeing what they had not. Thus far every thing had been viewed with a jaundiced eye by the strangers; they had not had a good dinner since quitting Dover. French living did not agree with one of the party: it was nothing but thin soup, and a parcel of dishes which it would puzzle the d–v–l himself to find out. The wine was so acid that brandy and water had become their common beverage. Above all, the beds were too small, it was even dangerous to turn in them; besides, they were stuck against the wall, and the abominable hard rubbed oak floors, without carpeting, were not only dangerous to walk upon, but enough to cause cramp to feet uncovered. Inquiring if they admired the French ladies, they declared they had not seen a pretty woman since coming to France, asserting that more were to be seen in the short space of half an hour, at the west end of London, than could be met with an entire week in Paris. Here the females were all made up; and as to their niggling walk, they were brought up to

it from infancy. The two who had come thus far for pleasure's sake alone, were extremely desirous their friend should speedily accomplish the business part of the expedition; nor was he less anxious to effect that object, but he found it *w*ery difficult to procure what he *v*anted, at any thing like a price *v*hat would pay; an observation which left no doubt he had been born within the sound of Bow bells. He was astonished why people, having money to spend, should like to throw it away in a place like this. The other worthy citizens gave, though in a slighter degree, evidence they were beings of the same hemisphere. Their polite invitation to dinner, we regretted it was not in our power to accept, certain, as in a contrary case, much entertainment would have resulted.

The extortionate demands of the shopkeepers to which this person alluded are proverbial. Nor is this to be met alone in Paris. It is the same in all the provincial towns. If a well dressed Englishman enters a shop, (it matters little how many customers there may be in at the time, provided they are French) the stranger

is sure of immediate attention from the principal of the establishment. The step, shrug, and bow are not wanting to give the visiter an idea how greatly his presence is considered an honour. Frequently have I seen French people kept waiting a considerable time, while our countrymen were being served, casting at each other a glance as if to imply what a liberal customer Monsieur has got there, and laughing at the idea that a foreigner should have to pay 20 to 25 per cent more than he ought. This feeling, while it casts no credit on the class I refer to, has too long been cherished by English visiters to the French capital and elsewhere in that country. Nor is it confined to shopkeepers: in the sale of articles, the produce of the soil, those calling themselves merchants, are ever anxious to sell to an English visiter. I could recount numerous instances where the grossest impositions have been practised. The article was one of which the ultimate value could only be ascertained by the event of time. How many hogsheads of French wine bought at an exorbitant price from the grower, have

afterwards turned sour? To expect even a small return of the original cost in such case, would be folly. It is generally said, that in no country is a traveller's luggage or effects so safe as in France. This I will not dispute; at the same time I will remark, that in no country, at least, that I have ever heard of, are commissions so excessive as are frequently made—*not charged*—where a stranger employs one of these "officious commissionaries" to purchase for him.

On paying an evening visit to the Palais Royal, we were soon convinced that the assertion of our previous conductor, as to its being then seen to the greatest effect, was perfectly correct. The entire buildings seemed as if illuminated for some particular fête, though but lighted in their ordinary manner.* The crowds far exceeded those we had seen here during the day Women of a certain class stood in rows, underneath the colonades, and in front of the shops, the lights from which afforded ample view of these

* I have frequently visited the Palais Royal since that period, but never saw it so gay as during the occupation of Paris by the allies.

unfortunate beings. Many were elegantly attired, so much so, indeed, that it might have been imagined they had dressed for the ball-room, whilst others were but half covered.* Here as in the gardens, were innumerable officers attached to the allied armies: the cafès had their full share of them. Those of the Russian garde, in particular, were fine handsome young men. Many, if report was correct, were of nobility, and spent their money with a carelessness which astonished the French part of the visiters of these saloons. The ray of light reflecting on the mirrors, which cover the entire walls of these gay resorts, the great variety in the uniforms, (many were splendid) added to the presence of well dressed females, whose towering plumes were reflected in every glass, gave to these places a brilliancy of effect dazzling beyond conception. It was in one of these saloons that I had the pleasure (and most unexpectedly too) of meeting with the friend mentioned in a preceding part of my narrative, who had stated his intention of concealing himself

* That class of persons are now forbidden to promenade there.

at Chalons till the arrival of the Prussian army before that place. When I say he was now in uniform of a Prussian aid-de-camp, wearing two decorations, and having mustaches, it may be conceived there was difficulty in recognizing him. Time being necessary to recount our several adventures since parting, it was agreed to rendezvous an hour afterwards, at the cafè, where the meeting had occured, as he had to attend in the interval on duty. My friend was punctual, and came, accompanied by a young Prussian officer, who spoke English. I now learned that his prognostication, as related to the speedy advance of Bulow's division on Chalons, had been verificd. As a soldier, well acquainted with the French language, and moreover knowing well the country in which the operations of that part of the force of the allies would have to be carried on, he accepted the offer of an appointment on the staff of the commander of the Prussian division, by which he had been liberated. In the several hard fought battles occurring on the advance to Paris, he was engaged. It is but fair to pre-

sume that the crosses he now wore, were rewards for his gallant conduct on those occasions. He was much grieved to learn that several friends whom he had left in perfect health, at the period of his departure from Verdun, were now dead. Of Marshal Bulow, and the general officers of the Prussian army, he spoke in the highest terms, denying (in no measured way) that the inhabitants had cause to complain of that part at least of the Prussian army he was attached to, and which had been so grossly maligned by the public prints. I had afterwards two opportunities of meeting this officer during my stay here. It is not easy to conceive the pleasure derivable from interviews such as this, nor was it the only one where I met with those with whom I had been confined at the most remote periods of my captivity.* Each day seemed to bring increased numbers of our curious countrymen to Paris. They were to be met with at every step. The fineness of the weather favoured their re-

* I often regretted that amongst all these visiters I could not recognize a former friend, recently arrived from England, from whom to obtain news.

searches in quest of all that was to be seen possessing novelty. The extreme duration of the war was a barrier to those who had obtained a grammatical knowledge of the language, from also acquiring a correct pronunciation. Owing to this, and still more, the quick reply of the Parisian, the strangers were not unfrequently puzzled: thus many ludicrous scenes occurred. The waiters in the cafés, as the shopkeepers, found out, in order to be perfectly understood, they ought to reply with less rapidity. Our countrymen, though probably not aware of it, came to Paris apparently well provided with the means which alone makes a foreigner's presence agreeable to the French people. Money was expended with such apparent want of consideration that an Englishman was at this period no less a personage than a mi-lord.* Though there was a want of discretion in spending profusely money with a people who but laughed at them for

* I believe there is no Englishman to be met with whose occupations take him frequently to Paris, that will deny how injurious the liberality, on the part of these casual visiters, is to those who follow them.

doing so, their avidity to see any thing worthy of observation, in a country new to them, was creditable. There was not an exhibition open at this crisis where Englishmen were not to be met with. The heights of Montmartre, the scene of the recent conflict, was their great object of attraction, nor was it surprising. Many of the English visiters to Paris had come to expend what the toil of the desk and the incessant attention to the counter had enabled them to reap. The change from such situations to a recent field of battle, must have, indeed, been great; hence it was that the inhabitants who had now returned to the villages where the fiercest part of the fight had taken place, gained great advantage in describing what had never occurred, and selling articles reported to have been found on the dead, which, but a few hours previous, were brought from the shops of the capital.

The spot which had been so bravely defended by the scholars of the Polytechnic School, had many visiters. The French were pleased to say those brave youths were murdered. The loss

occasioned to the allies, at this point was, from all accounts, very severe. Many were the attempts according to report, made by them to gain possession of this important post during the battle: they were ineffectual as long as amunition remained with the defenders. If it be true that they afterwards displayed a signal to surrender, and that quarter was refused, the slaughter of these young men tarnished the laurels of the victors. The scholars of that school were individuals of, or in some way, connected with the first families in France. Their fate was the common theme of regret at this period.* Several parts of the ground had been much torn, particularly those immediately under the heights. Fragments of clothing were observable lying in different parts. The cottages bore ample testimony how fiercely the conflict had raged; many had not a door or window left: of some, the thatched roofs were fired, the owners or former residents were now busily engaged in repairing the injury

* It was the scholars of the Polytechnic School who headed the populace of Paris during the three days of July 1830.

which their humble dwellings had sustained. The carcases of flayed horses, of which there were many, having lain for some time exposed to the sun, caused a stench scarcely bearable. A canal passes not very distant from where the battle was fought: several lighters laden with wine, some of which was in bottle, were there at the period. It was reported the Cossacks took possession of what they considered best adapted to immediate consumption, namely the bottled wine: the surface of this canal showed innumerable proofs how acceptable the beverage had been. Bottles appeared in millions, resembling pike heads, above the water. During the entire of the 29th, the ex-king Joseph, chased from Spain by our gallant countrymen, was found quietly waiting the issue of the strife, (at the heights already described) within the barriers of Paris. The would-be "king of Spain and the Indies," as on preceding occasions, thought his presence sufficient to infuse energy, and rouse the French people to resistance. Talavera and Victoria, in the vicinity of which places he had stationed himself during those memorable actions,

it might have been thought would have afforded sufficient proof that his presence had not the charm to induce the army and the populace of Paris to sacrifice themselves uselessly in defending that city. French officers were frequently heard to declare that it was entirely attributable to the presence of Joseph that disaster resulted, as wherever he was, there was certain to be a confusion of orders, and a want of unanimity in the officers holding superior commands. These assertions could not have been known to the ex-king when, on the morning of that never-to-be-forgotten day, he issued the following laconic notice:—

"*To the brave National Guard and the inhabitants of Paris—*

"'*I am with you, defend yourselves.*'

(Signed) JOSEPH."

The Hotel of the Invalides, an extensive and handsome building at the extremity of the city, is the refuge for wounded and disabled soldiers. Here it was that I beheld, for the first time, any number who had undergone amputation. The flags and banners taken by the armies of the republic, as likewise those of the consulate

and the empire, were here deposited. The greater part were Austrian standards which had fallen into the power of Napoleon on the memorable capture of Ulm, which place, it will be remembered, surrendered without a shot being fired, under the orders of the general in chief, Mack. In the number of flags, &c. thus exposed, not an English one could be recognized. Strange to relate, some of our discriminating countrymen thought they saw something like an English union Jack; others took it to be the flag of a pirate. Such was the ragged condition, and still more sombre appearance of this trophy, which in all probability had held its station there for a century, that well might the extraordinary vision of these intelligent observers have been envied, had it not been for the fact that, of the innumerable flags which were announced to have been captured from the British in various actions in Spain, (time could not have defaced them) not one was, as already observed, to be seen in this collection. If proof was wanting of the habitual lying of the Moniteur, it was to be found in viewing this exhibition, and searching for the

trophies taken from our armies, as had been reported, commanded by the illustrious Wellington, who, it will not be denied, worsted every French marshal (not to name commanders) whom Napoleon had sent, at different times, with instructions to drive him from the Peninsula. Why, it may likewise be inquired, were not the flags taken at Trafalgar, conspicuously placed in this repository? Immediately after the battle of Austerlitz, Napoleon learned the discomfiture of the fleets of France and Spain, by the immortal Nelson. It was necessary to account to the nation, in some way, why victory had not attended the French arms on the sea, as she had been seen to do in Germany. There had been a shift of wind. The Spaniards did not give the necessary support to the French admiral, notwithstanding several English line of battle ships (so said the Moniteur) were taken; of the number was the Duke of York, of 98 guns. It is pretty well known there was no such ship at that time in the British navy.*

In the Bois de Boulogne and the Champs

* Nor has there been since.

Elysées, a considerable corps of Cossacks and other light cavalry of the allies were bivouaced; the men lay under small tents, curiously constructed. Spears were placed crossways at each end of the tent, poles resting upon them supporting cords of straw, neatly plaited, secured to the ground by wooden pegs: loose straw was thrown over these cuds, and likewise in the interior of these dwellings, the Cossack who had to enter on his knees, lay at full length underneath, his head appearing at the aperture, resting on his hands, his elbows on the ground. The countenances of these northern warriors, protruding as described, caused great amusement, particularly to the French spectators, who repaired, in the evenings, to witness the contentment and comfort of these people, many of whom had traversed thousands of miles. These encampments had the appearance of villages in miniature: though the smoke did not pass through chimnies, yet it came forth abundantly from the pipes of the occupants, at each end of the habitations. From all I saw of this curious race, and I beheld them not only in the Champs

Elysées, but in various places in the vicinity of Paris, the Cossack's contentment was to be envied. His sole care appeared to be in watching his horse, and in the enjoyment of his pipe. The Parisian ladies and those who had families seemed highly pleased when viewing the extraordinary scene these encampments afforded, frequently speaking to the Cossack as he lay in the position I have mentioned: unable to answer, he would take off his hairy cap, and by a nod of the head at same time, with a good humoured countenance displaying a fine set of teeth, he acknowledged as a compliment that which had been put as an inquiry. It was generally remarked that there was a great similarity of countenance in the different tribes, as likewise in their form and stature.

One evening while perambulating this point, a loud whistle was heard. In almost an instant the Cossacks crawled from beneath their tents, and assembled in rank at the upper part of the encampment. This, it may be presumed, was their evening muster. It was amusing to observe how much their horses were alive to the

sound, exhibiting a restlessness as if about to be mounted.

In the space allotted to these troops, there are innumerable trees, though not of great dimension. The horses were tied to them, within the range of a few feet. I believe few of these trees escaped having the bark stripped as far as the horse could reach. This I had previously observed on my way from Estamps, when the Cossacks were bivouacing in the fields by the roadside. The Emperor Alexander, according to report, had, on the occupation of Paris, been solicited to send from France the irregular hordes of these people. It was found a matter of no little difficulty to effect that object. On the morning of the 30th March, (the day after the capitulation) the allied sovereigns at the head of their troops entered Paris. They took up a station to allow the different corps to defile before them. When the review (it could not be otherwise termed,) was at an end, the monarchs were about to retire a considerable force of irregular Cossacks, conceiving they had *some* claim to attention, unexpectedly appeared; seeing them approach, it was said the

Emperor Alexander could not suppress a laugh, in which he was joined by the king of Prussia and the prince of Swartzenberg. If correctly stated, this irregular force had no pay, but merely rations served out to them; it was not therefore surprising if they levied contributions, and supplied themselves in any way they could.

The Parisians spoke in high terms of the fine appearance of the allied armies when entering Paris on the occasion referred to, although, but the preceding day engaged in battle, they were as neat and in as perfect order as if quitting their quarters for inspection. The French people received the Emperor Alexander not only with marks of respect, but also in a way the most flattering.

The king of Prussia was not similarly honoured. It is extraordinary that the people of this city should be seen on the occasion of the entry of the invaders, crowding the gardens and public walks, &c. during the day, as likewise the theatres and different places of amusement in the evenings. It might have been thought that all would have flocked to Montmartre, if not to seek for a wounded or fallen relation or friend, at least to aid the

common sufferers. On expressing my astonishment at this circumstance to a Frenchman in whose company I happened to be soon after my arrival, his remark was, there were plenty of people to aid the wounded. How different the scene would have been had a battle taken place in the vicinity of our metropolis, I will leave the reader to conjecture; yet these people are wont (as I shall hereafter show) to accuse our nation of a want of humanity. Slanders which may at once be refuted by holding up for their imitation, the innumerable charitable institutions with which our country abounds.

The Louvre containing at this period a collection of paintings, and works of art, which I may fearlessly assert, had never had its parallel, was hourly thronged with visiters. To our countrymen, it was a matter of astonishment that admission should be allowed to all classes, gratis, asserting that a similar system would not be long endurable, if acted upon in England, as the lower orders would not observe the peaceable demeanour the French were seen to do. There were no less than thirteen theatres at this time open in Paris, and

besides these, performances of endless description in the gardens and other places of public resort. I heard it remarked that the Parisians' thoughts went not beyond the amusements which the succeeding day might bring; an observation probably, not altogether misapplied. Their new king, Louis the XVIII, was hourly expected; "what kind of person he was, likewise, if he had abilities to rule, and still more, the tact to keep parties quiet," were the conjectures of these cidevant, imperial, but now royal subjects.

The Duc de Berri frequently appeared in public, attended by a small retinue. I observed that unfortunate prince pass on horse-back through the place Vendome. The French people showed little or no respect towards this younger branch of the Bourbon family, some few raised their hats, a mark of respect which he returned with great affability. The gambling-houses of the Palais Royal, more particularly in the evenings, had many occupants. Attracted by curiosity, I accompanied a friend to behold one of these dens. It was here that I for the first time saw the veteran Blucher. There were several Prussian officers with him. He appeared

to pay great attention to the game of rouge et noir, holding a card, he pricked the turns as they came forth, occasionally putting down a few napoleons. A young Russian officer of the guard seemed to engross the field-marshal's attention, causing him no inconsiderable amusement. He played deeply, and with the most extraordinary success, so much so, that the master of the table, and his attendants began to look rather serious. The gold being too weighty for his pockets, a quantity was placed in a silk handkerchief. Then putting down a five franc piece, which was lost, he took up his cap, and bowing politely to those round the table, retired.

The particular manner in which he withdrew, created a smile on the countenances of every visiter. The master and those subordinate to him, were alone serious. To give a more perfect idea of these receptacles of vice, the following passage taken from a popular French work, may not be considered misplaced.

" Enter, how bare! The walls are covered " with coarse paper to the height of your head. " The floor is dirty, and a number of straw

" chairs, drawn round a cloth, thread-bare from the
" rubbing of gold, manifest a strange indifference
" to luxury among those who are sacrificing them-
" selves for its sake! Four old men with bald
" heads, and visages as impressive as plaster, sit
" round the table; and by them, a young Italian
" with long black hair, leans quietly on his elbows,
" and appears to seek those secret presentments
" which whisper so fatally to the gambler—'Yes,'
" 'no.' Seven or eight spectators are standing
" silent, motionless, and attentive, as the mobs of
" the Place de Greve, when the guillotine is about
" to fall on the neck of the victim. A tall sour
" looking man, in a thread-bare coat, holding a
" card in one hand, a pin in another, pricks in
" rouge, or noir, according to the turn of the
" card. This is your Tantalus of modern days,
" one of those who live upon the brink of all the
" pleasures of their time. This is a miser with-
" out a treasure, playing an imaginary stake, a
" sort of reasonable madman, who consoles himself
" for the misery of his fate, by caressing a terrible
" chimera.

' Opposite the bank, one or two players, skilled

" in all the chances of the game, and like those " thieves who are no longer frightened at the " gallies, are come to make their three 'coups,' and " to carry off immediately the probable winnings " on which they live. An old waiter walks non- " chalantly up and down the room, his arms " folded, and stops now and then at the window, " as if to show the passengers beneath the sign of " the house. The dealer and the banker, cast " upon the players that sombre look which thrills " the soul of the young gambler, and say with a " hoarse voice, faites le jeu."

A very few days had elapsed after my arrival in Paris, when the master of the hotel notified to my companions and myself that our passports were required for the inspection of the commissary of police. Those given by the commandant at Estamps, were not sufficient; unless others were immediately obtained from the minister-general of police, we could no longer be accommodated at his house. The notification was duly attended to, and we repaired to the bureau of that functionary, where intimation was given that passports would not be granted without a letter of request

from our ambassador. Lord Castlereagh had now arrived: on going to his residence we had the gratification of meeting with five officers who had come from Gueret. The hotel occupied by the British minister was a handsome extensive building, at its gates Russian sentries were placed, whose clean soldier like look could not but be remarked. In the hall there were several foreign valets: inquiring if his lordship could be seen, we were told that he was then engaged, that we would necessarily have to come the following day. The manner in which this was communicated, coming, moreover, from an officious French waiter, by no means accorded with the ideas of our party, one of whom, major H—— replied, that unless Lord Castlereagh was informed of our visit, and sent a specific answer, we should remain till he might be at liberty to direct passports to be delivered to us. On this announcement the waiter said he would go and name it to the secretary. Almost immediately afterwards an English gentleman came, saying that his lordship would be disengaged in a very short time, when the documents we

required would be *granted.* In a few minutes we were ushered into his presence. This was the first time I had seen Lord Castlereagh, with whose appearance, and still more, urbanity, it was impossible to be otherwise than pleased. He desired we would be seated whilst the passports were being prepared, in the interval he made many inquiries relative to past scenes of our captivity. Our party was composed of eight: there was but two (a friend and myself) who did not belong to the army or navy. Inquiring how my friend had been taken, as well as the time we were in France, he observed "it is an unfortunate case, certainly; I suppose, at one time, you never thought of being liberated?" My companion observed that on the French reaching Moscow, there was little to hope. "To you," he observed, "it might appear so, but we now see the happy result." When the secretary brought in the passports his lordship signed them, at same time saying, "These, gentlemen, will require the signatures of the Russian and Prussian authorities. Two of their officers have been appointed to attend at the office of

the minister of police for that purpose. I recommend you not to neglect this, as their troops occupy all the towns hence to the coast. If, he added, "you find any of his majesty's ships or packets at the port you intend to embark at, on your producing these passports you will have a free passage." We now thanked him for the attention he had been pleased to show us, and retired, afterwards proceeding to obtain the signatures to which he had referred. At this police office old companions were again met. These rencontres, as may be imagined, were attended with joyous feelings.

The allied sovereigns were to be met riding with but a small escort through the capital. The emperor Alexander, by his affability, moreover the declaration which had issued on his entry here (mentioned in a preceding part of my narrative) that it was not the object of the coalesced powers to divide the country; although bearing their respective signatures, was considered to emanate entirely from him: thus he was recognized with feelings differing from those which attended the passing of the other potentates. The

emperor of Austria was not so frequently to be seen. His Prussian majesty, attended by his sons, excited little attention when appearing in public. The dislike (it is difficult to account for it) the French openly expressed towards that monarch, and likewise his troops, was the more surprising when it is remembered the excesses committed by the French armies during their occupation of his kingdom. With the exception of the Cossacks, none of the troops of the allies were so foully calumniated by the public prints when reporting their movements, as were the Prussians. Many conceived this inveteracy arose not from seeing them here, but the occurrence of general de York, going over with a considerable force to the Russians when on the retreat from Riga. That defection, (as the Moniteur termed it,) Napoleon never forgot nor forgave. I well remember how great was the sensation on the bulletin appearing announcing that event, and which had the tendency to shew an example to all other foreign corps serving Napoleon. It was probably fortunate for the people who thus exclaimed against those

whom they had so direly oppressed, that Blucher had not entered France as generalissimo of the invading armies. There can be little doubt had the veteran (as he was termed) held supreme command, and the sovereigns absent, this volatile people would have had to pay *dearly* for the exactions, &c. which their armies had praticed in the Prussian states. A celebrated french writer, a military man, moreover greatly attached to Napoleon, thus briefly records the treatment shown to the Prussian nation, after its occupation by the French. "Napoleon had neither pity nor generosity for the Prussians. He commenced his enterprise with meanly insulting a beautiful, heroic and unfortunate queen. Contributions and vexations devised by the genius of taxation drained the conquered country of that which the pillage of the soldiery had spared." The enmity which had seated itself in Blucher's breast towards Napoleon, particularly, may be accounted for in a paragraph of the bulletin which announced the result of the unfortunate battle of Jena. "Of all the divisions of the Prussian army, none fought so badly as that of Blucher."

Thus casting a slur on a man who had fought with the greatest bravery throughout that unfortunate day. It could not be surprising if he felt a particular desire now that the tide of battle was turned in his favour, to make memorable as well as terrible reprisals.* Had Napoleon fallen into the power of Blucher, nor would it have been surprising as he was fighting with but a corps against many of the allies, then endeavouring to reach the capital, his fate might have wounded still more the national honour, than even the occupation of Paris was seen to do. It was impossible to regard Blucher without reflecting on the happy change which had now made him a conquerer over the despot who had not only over-run his country but cast a stigma on his name. The curiosity of the English visitors was not confined to the sights of Paris; the places contiguous were likewise objects of their curious search.

* This, Marshal Blucher did not however do. On the second occupation of Paris in 1815, he no longer permitted the paintings which had been taken from Prussia to adorn the walls of the Louvre.

Versailles, St. Cloud and Malmaison were alike considered worthy of being viewed. In them, even the most trifling article having been in Napoleon's possession or even touched by him were objects worthy of purchase at any price. The chair he sat in at the moment of signing his abdication at Fontainbleau, would have brought an immense price had it been purchasable. This avidity to get possession of what had belonged to the former ruler of France doubtless was to these strangers an inviable feeling. Yet it found not reciprosity with those who knew more of his despotism than these recent London arrivals could possibly do. The French laughed at the munificent offers made by them for articles of little or no value. They were exceedingly anxious to carry back something belonging to Buonaparte. May it be hoped, that these searchers after extraordinary things have not since had reason to regret their purchases.

Passing one morning by the Place du Carrousel a considerable number of the allied troops were

collected to protect the operations of the workmen while employed in removing the golden letters descriptive of the different views (in bronze) placed on the triumphal arch. The spectators were kept at some distance from where the work was being carried on. Two Frenchmen, with the look of officers out of uniform, were excessively indignant, seeing the chisel thus employed. The workmen, according to the ideas of these persons, deserved to be torn to pieces, in demolishing what Napoleon had so carefully inscribed. The work was speedily accomplished. On the following day the letter N, which had been placed in the ornaments of the Louvre, were similarly acted upon. Probably there was impolicy in thus removing, under a guard of foreigners, these emblems of the greatness of the imperial regime. All this might have been as well done when the allies had departed, as it served to irritate exceedingly the people of Paris, and gave bad omen as to what those who had been devoted to Napoleon might expect from the family which had now been recalled to the throne. Napoleon

gone, his spirit remained. Recollections are not easily effaced: if he had left behind him some enemies, he had still more friends.

The announcement that a Swiss guard would be formed to protect the Bourbon king, created, and it well might, in the French people great discontent, as likewise rousing their indignation. It was moreover reported there were to be seven regiments composed entirely of those people attached to the French army. It might have been thought that the lesson which the revolution had afforded, in pampering a foreign force, to the great annoyance of the nation,* and more

* In the revolution of July, 1830, the Swiss guard showed great firmness and bravery. It was owing to one of these battalions that a general and a division of the royal guard, having taken post at the Marché des Innocens, where they were not only attacked but blockaded at every point, were rescued from the fury of the populace. On the last of those celebrated days, the mob getting possession of the Thuilleries, the troops had to retire through the gardens, to the Place Louis Quinze. A Swiss battalion covered the retreat, and by its steadiness enabled the guard to retire with inconsiderable loss. The reader who, in all probability, has visited Paris since that period, will remember the spot where the Swiss are interred, immediately under the windows of the Louvre. The marks of musket balls on the fluted pillars of the passage, at the extreme wing of that building, where

particularly the fate which befell them at that epoch, a Bourbon would never again give employment to the Swiss, and pass by the countless French soldiers who (though they might prefer serving Napoleon) were now anxious, it being a matter of necessity, to enter the service, as their only means of subsistence. I was seated one evening near two elderly persons in a cafe, on the Boulevard de la Madeline, their conversation was carried on not only with vivacity but in so loud a tone that it was impossible otherwise than to hear it. The topic was the intended employment of the auxiliary troops to which I have alluded. The advanced age of one, judging still more from his manner, I thought it not impossible he might have been a witness of the excesses of 1789, if not an actor in them. "If Louis XVIII." he observed, "wants to come amongst us, hated and detested,

foreigners fell in numbers still remain. If correct the report, after defending themselves as long as any amunition was left, a signal of surrender was exhibited from the window where they laid down their arms. No sooner had the populace possession than the greater part of the defenders were put to death.

let him bring his Swiss. He can get plenty, as we well know they will serve the d-v-l himself for money." "Why not form a guard," said his companion, "from the old one, and the regiments which they tell us are to be re-organized, we might bear to look on them." The new monarch had been represented as a man of talent and considerable acquirements. The rumour as to employing foreigners, while thousands of disbanded French soldiers were strolling through the country in a state of destitution, and a further number daily arriving from England, did not indicate his possession of either of those essentials. It will be remembered that keeping on foot a considerable Swiss guard was not the least important of the charges brought against his unfortunate brother, charges which sent him and the greater part of the Bourbon family to the guillotine and the remainder into exile. Even at this crisis, numbers of French officers were to be met in Paris, a place above all others one might have thought they would rather have wished to avoid, while it was occupied by the armies against whom they had been accustomed

to fight, and over whom too often to conquer. The object of their visit must have been employment. If the supposition be correct it will at once occur to the reader how much they had cause for chagrin, when learning the intended formation of the force alluded to. The soldiers of Napoleon, now strolling on the Boulevards, in the gardens, &c. &c. were, though no longer in uniform, easily recognised. Their bronze complexions, long mustaches, and erect walk, left no doubt as to their calling. Few were here who had not the riband of the Legion of Honour. So greatly did their numbers augment that the government, probably considering altercations and quarrels might arise between them (mortified as they must necessarily be) and the officers of the allied forces, issued directions that all the French on furlough should immediately quit the capital, and repair to military depôts, to wait orders.

The greater part of the emigrants who had, happily for them, found an asylum in that country which it had been the fashion (of the more servile and illiberal part of their country-

men who preferred living under the despot) to vilify and abuse, were now returning. To many, the presence of these persons was quite as disagreeable as that of the invaders. It may readily be conceived that this observation applies to the particular class who, owing to the events of the revolution, had possessed themselves of the estates and property of those dreading the axe of the executioner, had preferred quitting their country rather than trust to the ruling monsters of those times. Were they to have no remuneration? was now the common inquiry, for the loss they had sustained.* Napoleon on assuming supreme power had promised protection to such of the unfortunate exiles who thought proper to return; whether their coming to France, under his auspices, was attended at the time,

* A considerable period after the return of the Bourbons, remuneration was made to the emigrants. On my way from Paris to Tours, some few years back, I had the pleasure of travelling with the Count de B——nt, who holds a property in the vicinity of the latter place. He stated that the remuneration had been justly distributed, amounting, in some instances, to 30 0/0 on the property confiscated. The grant was not, however, obtained without much bickering and stormy discussion in the Chambers.

with remuneration, I know not, but I well remember the French people looked on their arrival with no enviable feeling. A French writer confirms this assertion. Alluding to Napoleon's recalling the absentees, and the discontent which resulted, he observes:—"The purchasers of property which had been sold, whose rights a long possession had not yet confirmed, knew not where this incipient reaction would stop."

The officers attached to the allied forces, not long after their entry into Paris, acting on the system of those of the French army, selected their cafés and restaurants. This, it may be considered, was owing to the desire to converse more freely on past events than the presence of French visiters would allow. In the course of our perambulations, two friends and myself repaired to one of the latter, in the Rue Richileau, to dine. To our astonishment, the company was entirely composed of officers of different foreign regiments, the greater part were Prussians. I happened to be seated between one of these and a young Bavarian officer. Soon becoming acquainted, as did my friends with those near

whom they were, finding moreover we were English, they not only commented freely on existing events, but likewise showed a desire to make this, our first visit, pass off agreeably. The Prussian had traversed near my former residence, the fort of Bitche, which he stated, had not been attacked but merely blockaded, by a corps of their troops. He was in the division to which Verdun had opened its gates, and was surprised on being told that it had so long been the residence of our countrymen. He said on their troops defiling through the town, few of the inhabitants were to be seen in the streets, at same time confirming the accounts received during our residence at Blois, relative to the irregular Cossacks having to cross the Meuse, below the town. The Prussians anticipated they would have to cope with their enemies in the vicinity of St. Menehould near which there is a strong position. It was at this point that the progress of the Prussian army, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, which entered France at the memorable period of the revolution to afford assistance to the unfortunate Louis XVI. was

arrested and compelled to retrograde. He described the actions which took place after quitting Chalons till the occupation of Paris, as most severe. The Bavarian, belonged to the second corps of that force, he was a native of Munich, a remarkably handsome young man, and had recently entered the army. Next in the dislike of the French came the Bavarians. Their defection exasperated Napoleon even more than that of the Prussians, when retreating from Riga, as they did not follow up desertion by an attack on the French army. The Bavarians, on the contrary, attempted to cut off their retreat, immediately after joining the allies, and it was only by extraordinary efforts, attended with immense loss, that Napoleon was enabled to reach the Rhine. The abuse which the Moniteur lavished, on that occasion, on the Bavarian commander, Count de Wrede, was excessive. "This man, who owes every thing to the Emperor, by whom he is covered with orders and decorations, intrusted with a command by a sovereign whose country has received an accession of territory, which has raised it from a

petty state to a kingdom, and its elector to a throne, has had the audacity to turn his guns upon our army, when in actual operations with the enemy." The Saxons, though they had been equally *ungrateful*, were much less severely reflected upon than were the Prussians and Bavarians, a circumstance for which it is difficult to account.

Here again the misrepresentations, as regarded the conduct of the allies, towards the French people generally, on their advance to Paris, became the topic of conversation. The Prussian officer treated those foul slanders with much more contempt than his Bavarian companion, who was inclined to shew by entering into detail, how totally void they were of foundation, when he was interrupted by the former observing, it is not surprising the French should feel sore at seeing us here! Let them go to Prussia and inquire how their soldiers acted towards our people, in what way they were robbed, and oppressed for years. If it be correct that there is a tide and time which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune, certainly the German people

had not allowed the opportunity to pass unheeded of getting rid of their oppressors, by efforts not less extraordinary than creditable to them. The liberality of the king of Prussia in allowing the numerous paintings torn from his states, to remain in the Louvre while he had the power to restore them to their rightful owners was a pretty clear proof how little he merited the odium, and not less the hatred, which these disappointed people daily poured forth against him and his troops. Inquiring of these strangers if it was correct as reported that the Cossacks when taking brandy invariably mixed salt with it; the Prussian officer replied, I have been told they do, whenever it can be had, as they are not very nice. One evening, when passing a brandy shop in the vicinity of the Palais Royal, I observed two Cossacks of the Russian guard enter. Curiosity induced me to look through the window, and I observed each take a small tumbler of brandy, in which the person serving put a table spoonful of salt.

On relating the occurrence to a friend, he assured me it was not the first time he had heard

of the extraordinary goût of these people.* If the quantity of wine, particularly champaign, these visiters from the north consumed during our stay with them, was to be taken as a criterion, they must indeed have been acceptable customers to the Mâitre d'hotel. Unlike the French who invariably retire, the dinner ended, to a café, although the hour of our departure, nine o'clock, had arrived, there was nothing to indicate their speedy separation. It must indeed have been gratifying to the officers here assembled, the campaign being happily concluded to meet and recount their respective adventures in the capital of a power with whom they had so recently been engaged in hostilities. Rumour assigned to the Russian officers many acts of excessive severity towards their men; it was reported they were frequently seen to use sticks of no ordinary weight (even during parade and for the

* An English writer of some eminence in his Narrative on Russia, mentions a similar custom prevailing amongst these people, recounting particulars of an interview with the celebrated Platoff, with whom he met on the Don, when partaking of refreshment he was surprised to see the Hetman put salt into his brandy.

most trivial want of attention to command) on their soldiers, beating them without mercy. How far true these reports, as regarded the officers, I know not, though I can affirm having witnessed a scene where a serjeant beat a private with a thick stick, with such force and continuance, that the bystanders were not less astonished than disgusted, for what offence such brutality was thus conspicuously exercised could not be divined, the occurrence took place in the yard of a small caserne in the vicinity of the Hotel of the Invalids where a Russian detachment was quartered. Accidently passing, and desirous of seeing the guard relieved, I entered the yard while the poor soldier underwent an unmerciful castigation by a brute whose conduct was a disgrace to any service, much more to that of the body guard of the Emperor of all the Russias.

The sight was one calculated to make a lasting impression on those witnessing it. The reader must be aware that punishment for any great offence is never inflicted in the British army but by sentence of a court martial, and even

then it is by the lash while a surgeon stands by to see to what extent it may safely be applied. This unfortunate Russian had not similar justice or attention shown him. The blows fell principally on his head, and with such force that the looker on might conceive he could scarcely recover. Blood flowed copiously from his face over the front of his uniform, saturating his white trowsers and gaiters. Though he called loudly at each stroke, it had not the effect of diminishing either the number or the force of the blows. I confess the statements as regarded the severity of the Russian officers, which I would fain have discredited, began now to have a different effect, and this regret is increased when I reflect that the occurrence which I have with reluctance reported, (my information comes from a source unquestionable) was not a solitary exception. The degrading punishments inflicted on the sailors of the Polonais by their officers fell, indeed, short both as to intensity and duration, when compared with these Russian exhibitions. During the entire of my captivity, and I have pleasure in stating it, although the French officers were fre-

quently seen excessively irritated with their men, they never struck them; the general punishment of confinement and short allowance expiated the French soldier's misconduct on those occasions. The surprise of the English visiters was great at seeing the familiarity existing between the French officers, subalterns and privates. Probably it was not generally known that the greater part of the French officers who had attained high situations, had risen from the ranks. In 1791 and 1792, the French soldiers appointed their own officers. The greatest generals France ever had owed their elevation to that system; several of the marshals of this period, had filled the lowest grades in the armies of the republic; the pay of the officers was then but eight francs per month: they eat of the same bread as the soldier, and were only separated when on duty. This was but a part of the revolutionary text of liberty, equality, fraternity, &c. Buonaparte changed the system, and took upon himself the appointments and promotions according to lists prepared by the colonels of regiments: in many

instances preceding or after a battle he went through the ranks distributing favours. Any soldier who (says a military author) could read or write, provided he possessed bravery, was in the course of time (if death spared him) sure of promotion. He likewise established military schools at Fontainbleau and St. Cyr, where it is to be regretted manners, as well as military tactics, were not taught, as the former were much wanted in a certain class of the French army. The reader will divine to what particular class I allude.

Our neighbours are ever at a loss for the motive which induces young men of family and fortune to purchase commissions in the British army. The idea of giving 7500 francs or £300 for an ensigns appointment (attended moreover with considerable expense of outfit) is at variance with their rule, which has for its object to gain renown and money at the same time. Although they are always desirous of drawing the attention of a stranger (when speaking of officers who have attained the highest ranks in their profession) to the fact that they were

once drummers or privates, they freely admit, that it is not absolutely necessary to serve in either of those capacities to be capable of taking superior command. Events have often shewn, and these too on French soil, that our countrymen can fight quite as well, when coming from a military college, as if they had been born in the lowest situations, and subjected to the drill of a depôt for years previous to entering on foreign service. I have frequently remarked that the officers of the line, during my residence in France, were seldom seen mixing with the inhabitants. Their time, when in garrison usually passed after the day's exercise, in a café (the officers of a regiment generally selected one for themselves) or the theatre. Why they formed a class apart I never ascertained, although my inquiries were frequent; may it not be inferred they were unwelcome visiters, owing to a rudeness of manner resulting from the nature of the service in which they were almost continually engaged—watching States occupied by their armies.

That our countrymen, who had so long and

successfully contended against the troops of Napoleon in the Peninsula, whose crowning exploit had recently been witnessed from the walls of Toulouse, were not here to join the conquerors, was the subject of regret, but to none more than those officers who had been taken in Spain, and were now arriving from Gueret, it was to be expected they were desirous to again meet their old companions in arms, and learn occurrences since the period of their separation. The want of British uniforms to contrast with the great variety in those of the allies was supplied by the unexpected appearance of three officers belonging to regiments of our local militia. As may be conceived, these *new* military visiters excited attention in the saloons and cafés of the Palais Royal. The novelty lost its effect, when the *peaceable* nature of the service to which they belonged was discovered. Strolling with a friend in the garden of the Luxembourg, we met with five English sailors, whose destitute condition could not fail to attract the notice of the company here assembled: they were without

shoes, and the French prison clothing had been so long worn, that it scarcely sufficed to cover them. These poor men, originally belonging to the depôt of Briançon (in the Alps) were removed on the advance of the allies, to the north of France. The statement of their sufferings for three months preceding, surpassed conception. Near Langres, a corpse of irregular Cossacks liberated them for a time from the custody of a few gens d'armes. While with these people they fared tolerably well, but unable to follow their movements, they were overtaken by a party of French chasseurs and placed, heavily ironed, in the jail of a small bourg not very distant from Rhiems: remaining there ten days with no other subsistence than brown bread, they were moved under escort to Troys. On the second occupation of that city, by the allies, the jail door was finally opened to them; owing to the severe frost, and greatly reduced for want of nourishment, the officer who commanded the detachment, directed their removal to the civil hospital. The party was then composed of eight, two of whom died, of

the fate of the third they could give no account. As far as our means allowed at the time, we relieved these men, and directed them to come to us in the evening. In the interim, we repaired to the Palais Royal, (the invariable resort of our contrymen,) and made known to many, though without previous introduction, the condition of these unfortunate sailors. Here I beg the reader will not conceive that, in recording the little assistance which my companion and myself afforded these persons, the motive is to claim credit. It is but to show how much alive the English visiters, to whom our applications were made, were to the sufferings of their countrymen, and the handsome way in which they relieved them. In the course of the day, and in the Palais Royal alone the sum of 184 francs was collected. Not one appeal was unsuccessful; moreover, such was the interest excited at the sufferings of these persons, that several of the donors, anxious to behold them, on being told they were to come to us in the evening, begged our address. At seven o'clock, the sailors attended, but so much changed in

their dress, that it was not at first an easy matter to recognize them. There was but one with the same jacket he had worn in the early part of the day. According to their statement, every Englishman they had spoken to gave them something. One old gentleman had taken them to his house, and rigged them out entirely. The clothing, although new to them, bore ample proof it had seen no inconsiderable service, consequently the fit, or rather the want of it, gave them a most ludicrous appearance. One, attired in an old military undress coat (braided before) seemed not to know what to do with the tails, as he kept them rolled up in his hands. Inquiring if he did not feel more comfortable than in his old French jacket, he replied "yes, but I can't get along with them at all, (pointing to the superfluous laps) I'll doff 'em to-morrow," The old gentleman's kindness was not confined to the gift of their apparel, he had likewise supplied them with a good dinner, and brandy and water. If it might be judged, the spirit predominated over the latter, as one poor fellow fell asleep

while his companions were recounting the occurrences connected with this their first visit to Paris.

During the interview two gentlemen who had liberally subscribed in the afternoon, arrived. They were exceedingly interested when the statements of what these persons had undergone, were related. They likewise had been able to collect a further sum, which with ours, amounted to 279 francs.* Knowing, as my companion and myself did, the proverbial carelessness of the English sailor, in all, as regards money, (and few could have had better opportunity of ascertaining it than a situation of captivity affords) a consultation was held with the gentlemen referred to, as to whether it would be advisable to entrust the money collected to them. On this point our opinions coincided, and it was agreed that the amount, after giving to each 10 francs, should be placed in the hands of the more elderly of the two visiters, (a clergyman) to be distributed in such way, as might be deemed the most

* This sum amounted to more than £11.

likely to forward the intent of the subscribers and enable them to proceed to a port of embarkation.

Immediately after this occurrence, the arrivals of soldiers and sailors coming from their depôts, were daily numerous, so much so, that it was necessary to appoint an agent in Paris to afford them succour, and means of transport to the coast. Sir Thomas Levie, who I have had occasion to name in my narrative, interceded with the lords of the admiralty, and obtained for the sailors who had been captives in France, a protection for six months from imprisonment on their return to England. The act was highly creditable, and caused no little delight amongst a class, who, with all their folly and excentricities, never lost sight of the feeling that they were subjects of the happiest of nations.

On an occasion, when viewing that superb column in the place Vendome, I was accosted by an elderly man, whose appearance and manner indicated he had seen better days: inquiring in pretty correct English, whether I did not greatly admire that noble work of art, I replied that it

was impossible to be otherwise than pleased with it; and so might we Frenchmen likewise view it with delight, he observed, did it not recall the genius of a man who has entailed miseries on France which time can never efface. The expression, as likewise his look and manner, induced me to suppose that I was now in conversation with one of those unfortunate people who had been compelled to fly from France at the period of the revolution. My conjecture I soon found was correct, he informed me he had in the first instance resided seven years in England, afterwards many in the United States and Canada. He belonged to that particular class (the priesthood) which had been more obnoxious than all others to the revolutionists. For a long time after arriving in England, he gave instructions in the French language, by which means, added to the allowance of the English government to emigrants, he found himself in comfortable circumstances. Often, during his long residence on the American continent, he regretted ever having quitted England. Inquiring as to all I had seen in Paris, I recommend you sir, he said, not to

quit without visiting our celebrated cemetery of Pere la Chaise; that if favoured with my address he would on the following morning attend to, conduct myself or friends to view what he considered the most interesting object in the capital. The old gentleman was punctual, and came at an early hour, appearing delighted that two of my countrymen were to accompany us. At this period the catacombs were daily inspected by the English. Expressing a desire to see them previous to proceeding to Pére la Chaise, "I would, on no account, advise you to do so," he replied, "as there is nothing in them that can possibly afford you gratification, moreover, it takes a considerable time, and you may have to contend with foul air, for although they are ventilated, it is in certain places unavoidable. As to myself, I cannot enter them; I could not bear to look on the remains of so many thousands, more particularly the unfortunate beings sacrificed during the epoch of the revolution, (they are placed apart) for I should consider I gazed upon the bones, if not of relations, at least those of friends." The exordium had its effect: and

a coach being called we proceeded to the cemetery already named. During the ride our new acquaintance pointed out certain places where, in the never-to-be-forgotten days of the revolution, thousands of human beings had suffered decapitation by that instrument of horror the guillotine. The names of Collot d'Herbois, Danton, Vergniaud, St. Just, Marat and Robespierre, however desirous the French people may be to obliterate all recollection of them, (I never met with one who, when the revolution was in any way alluded to, did not immediately turn the conversation) will remain as blots in French history to the end of time. Such was the observation of one of our party on this occasion; in it the priest not only coincided, but expressed astonishment that any of his countrymen who had taken part in the events of those times, should have the hardihood to remain, and enjoy their ill gotten wealth and estates. The sense of shame, he added, should suffice to cause them to quit. The Bourbons being now recalled, he seemed to think that unless Louis XVIII restored to the

clergy the rights of which the revolution had deprived them, his throne would be constantly in danger. "The faction," he observed, "which did away with all religion, setting up a figure, the goddess of reason, as their idol of worship, and suspended the Sabbath, are not yet extinct. Oh no! many of them are still left: they look upon us (meaning the priesthood) with abhorrence. The king should direct schools to be established throughout France, where the youth of the country receiving religious education would not become the tools of the factious."* The

* Lous XVIII. was wise enough not to go the extreme length which the priesthood anticipated, as to reinstating them in their position previous to the revolution. For this, great indignities were cast upon his memory by that class. On the day of his funeral, few priests attended the procession on the way to, or on its arrival at, St. Denis. Charles X. pursued a different course: he had those confessors constantly near him, except when enjoying the sports of the field. The papers daily announced his majesty, accompanied by the dauphine, having attended mass, afterwards left for St. Denis, &c.&c. to shoot. I have frequently heard Frenchmen remark, the king and his son do nothing but pray and hunt. Not long after the restoration, schools were established, in part, on the principal named by our clerical acquaintance, over which a minister of public instruction

subject of the employment of a foreign force, such as a Swiss guard, he considered necessary, till the royal authority was firmly established. "How can it be expected," he inquired, "that the soldiers who have served the usurper for so long a period, who have been accustomed to pillage after conquest should be depended upon to guard the person of a king, for whom, as we all know, they have no liking whatever. In the course of a few years Napoleon will cease to be thought of, then the Swiss can be dispensed with."* Half an hour's ride brought us to Pére la Chaise. The casual view of this place did

presides. Thus the lower classes have, necessarily, become more enlightened than during the rule of Buonaparte. They are, nevertheless, far behind those in similar situations of life with us, if we are to credit the assertion of a modern writer, that in France there is not more than one person in three who can read and write, while in England and Wales there is nearly one in every two who receive education.

* The charter accepted by Louis Philippe, in August 1830, when elected king of the French, has a specific clause against the employment of a foreign force, and which it is but fair to presume, had its origin in the proverbial liking of the Bourbons to have paid emissaries near them.

not afford evidence of the correctness of our conductor's representations, as to its being more worthy of inspection than any other place in the metropolis. Although extensive, there is but one gravelled walk which passes round the extent of the cemetery. Tombs and monuments were, indeed, numerous, though few denoted having been erected at considerable expense. Owing to the want of proper footpaths, the visiter is induced to forego the inspection of monuments which lay out of the line of the gravelled walk, the ground being covered with weeds and grass of no ordinary height. After rain, particularly, it is next to impossible to approach the more secluded parts

CHARTER GRANTED BY LOUIS XVIII.	CHARTER ACCEPTED BY LOUIS PHILIPPE.
Article 14.—The king is the head of the state: he commands the land and sea forces, declares war, forms treaties of alliance and commerce, appoints to all offices of public administration, and frames all rules and regulations for the just enforcement of the laws and the security of the state.	Article 13.—The king is the head of the state: for the just inforcement of the laws, without ever being able to put aside the laws themselves, or suspend their execution. No foreign troops shall ever be admitted into the service of the state but by virtue of an especial law.

of Pére la Chaise, without incurring the risk of sinking ankle deep. That there should be such a want of communication by proper roads, through this receptacle for the dead, surprised the visiters. One part of the ground which is of considerable elevation, is selected for the interment of the nobility, and those of the higher classes.* From

* Here rest the remains of the greater number of Buonaparte's celebrated marshals. Splendid monuments are erected over them with the exception of Marshal Ney, a plain stone bearing the solitary inscription "NEY," covers the ashes of a man whose name had too often spread fear among his enemies. Visiting Pére la Chaise in 1830, and comparing the list of these departed heroes with one furnished by a French gentleman, during my captivity, it would appear that death had indeed been busy amongst them. In proof of this assertion I annex a copy of the list alluded to, without, however vouching for its correctness; those marked * no longer exist.

UNDER NAPOLEON.	TITLES.
* Messina.....	Prince of Essling, Duke of Rivoli,
* Alexander Berthier	Prince of Neuchatel and of Wagram,
Marmont.....	Duke of Ragusa,
* Ney.....	Duke d'Elchingen, Prince of Moskwa,
Macdonald	Duke of Tarantum,
* Lefebre.....	Duke of Danzig,
* Mortier.....	Duke of Treviso,
Soult.....	Duke of Dalmatia,
* Junôt.....	Duke of Abrantes,
* Duroc	Duke of Frioule.
Oudinot.....	Duke of Regio,

this point, the view of Paris is superb, and exceeded only by that from the heights of Montmartre, on the opposite side of the city.

The individual who had so kindly undertaken to conduct us here, finding the scene had not the effect of exciting the astonishment, much less the pleasure, he anticipated, said, "as you appear, gentlemen, inclined to quit, permit me to conduct you to an exhibition of a different kind: it will, at all events, repay the disappointment." That exhibition was the Gobelins, celebrated for its manufactory of tapestry. Under the auspices of Napoleon, this art had been

UNDER NAPOLEON.	TITLES.
* Davoust.....	Prince d'Echmul, Duke of Auderstadt,
Augereau.....	Duke of Castiglioni,
* Moncey.....	Duke of Conigliano,
* Lasnes.....	Duke of Montibello,
Jourdan.....	No title,
* Savary.....	Duke of Rovigo,
* Clerc.....	Duke of Fêltré,
Victor.....	Duke of Belluna,
* Brune.....	No title,
* Gouvien St. Cyr	No title,
* Bessieres.....	Duke of Istria,
* Suchét.....	Duke of Albuefera.

UNDER THE BOURBONS.

Bourmont, and Count Maison.

brought to unrivalled perfection. There were several pieces of considerable magnitude on which the workmen were then employed. These were said to be intended for presentation to the allied sovereigns by Louis XVIII. A splendid work (not long completed) descriptive of the last moments of General Desaix, who fell by a cannon ball at the battle of Marengo, occupied a conspicuous place in the repository. He is represented at the moment when falling in the arms of an aid-de-camp, he uttered these memorable words, which Frenchmen are ever wont to repeat:—"Go to the First Consul, tell him I die only with the regret of not having done enough for posterity." The number of persons here employed was much less than might have been expected, considering the various pieces in an unfinished state, as likewise others but recently commenced. The principle on which the tapestry was wrought appeared simple. The subject for copy (painted in oils) was placed a short distance from the workman, hung on the wall. Between them there was an upright loom, the threads on which were placed sufficiently close

to admit of a correct outline being taken. These were to be tightened by means of a roller at the top of the loom: the light being thrown obliquely from the ceiling, enabled the workman to keep closely to the copy before him, as regarded shade and colouring, the original was easily seen by partially separating the threads. The worsteds were placed by means of small shuttles. Such was the tardiness with which the work proceeded that it accounted for the fact of the scene representing the death of Desaix having occupied more than twelve years in its completion.

On returning from the Gobelins we had the unexpected pleasure of meeting with our recent fellow-traveller, the surgeon of the Imperial Guard, whose stay in the capital had been prolonged to wait the arrival of a relative. He appeared gratified at seeing us once more, observing, "I shall now have it in my power to show you more of Paris than I could possibly do on our first coming here." Casting a look at our French companion, he inquired, in an under tone, "Where did you meet with him? I'll swear he is a priest!" Receiving an affirmative answer, he observed,

"As he and I do not belong to the same regiment, I must defer my visit till to-morrow, we can then attend a review in the Champ de Mars." He had no sooner left than the priest made a similar inquiry as to who and what he was. Informing him on that point, "Let me advise you," he said, "to have nothing to do with such a class; they hate you as much as they do me, besides you cannot derive edification in his company." Our situation as regarded these volunteer conductors was certainly any thing but agreeable: embracing the services of one would necessarily give offence to the other. On arriving at the hotel the priest said, "As you are engaged for to-morrow, by your military friend, my services, I presume, can be dispensed with till the following day, when I will take care to be with you at an early hour." With this he departed.

The occurrence I have mentioned as relates to the visible antipathy of these persons towards each other did not surprise me. Although the conversation of the priest thus far had made him an agreeable companion, there

were times when a bitter feeling was perceptible, little creditable to him. This occurred when speaking of the revolution, and of those who had in any way taken part in it. He seemed to have taken the word "remuneration" for his motto. It was impossible that he and the class to which he belonged could be repaid for the losses they had sustained as well as for privations endured in their exile. The soldier complained not beyond the misfortunes which attended Buonaparte and the armies, and if he gave vent to indignation at seeing France occupied by foreigners it was not surprising. He looked for nothing more from the Bourbons than employment. To satisfy the cravings of the priesthood, to remunerate the emigrants, and to sooth the wounded feeling of the troops, was the task now prepared for Louis XVIII. The opinion was pretty general that the throne would be beset by expectants to such an extent as to make it difficult for the new king to govern with impartiality, Beyond these, a party existed likely to add, in no small degree, to the perplexities of the new reign. It was composed of

individuals who had figured in the revolution, and having subsequently held office under Napoleon were discarded by him, as likewise others coming over to the Bourbons on the occupation of the capital. At the head of the former was Tallyrand, Fouché and the Abbê de Pradt. A correspondence was known to have been carried on for some time previous to the battle of Montmaclu between Tallyrand and the Emperor Alexander. After Blucher's retreat to the Marne, the wily diplomatist wrote to the autocrat in these words, "You venture nothing when you may safely venture every thing; venture once more." That Louis XVIII. should avail himself of the council of those who had filled important situations under Napoleon might be anticipated, as they must necessarily be better acquainted with the wants and wishes of the French people than the emigrants who had learnt nothing in their exile that could possibly cause their return to be looked upon with favour by the bulk of the population. There was a pride, observable in many of that class which though so recently returned, had become suffi-

ciently manifest. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that it was in direct opposition to the democratic feeling which had worked its way into every society in the country. In whatever light the situation of the king was to be viewed at this period, it was impossible to conceive that his reign would be unattended with scenes of an unpleasant character if not of commotion. During the evening, our clerical friend unexpectedly returned, stating that he was called to the south to fill a curacy to which he had been presented by the bishop of Blois, and should have to leave at an early hour in the morning. In acknowledging our obligations for his kind attentions, he replied, do not mention them; I can never see any of your countrymen without being reminded of the kindness and hospitality I received in England; should any of you ever pass through Blois, (here his address was given) I hope you will not fail to call on me; he then took his departure.

The surgeon, true to his appointment, came precisely at nine o'clock, accompanied by a friend who had a pretty correct knowledge

of our language. He was a native of Martinique; after a long residence in the United States, he came to France to study for the medical profession. Almost the first question from the surgeon was, "Well, where is your friend, the priest?" Telling him that he had left Paris, having obtained a curacy, "All the better for him," he replied: "I hope he'll manage to keep it." He then said that he should be able to devote three days to us, requested pen and ink, and wrote down the places most worthy of being viewed, which might be seen within that time. I shall not tire the reader by relating the occurrences of each day, but remark only on those I consider if not interesting, at least, somewhat amusing. In passing over the Pont Royal, to proceed to the inspection of the allied troops, on the Champ de Mars, the Emperor Alexander, accompanied by the King of Prussia, his two sons, and the prince of Schwartzenberg rode by. They were received, but more particularly Alexander, with every mark of respect. Contrary to anticipation the number of troops collected at the place

above mentioned was inconsiderable: they consisted chiefly of Russian infantry and a few squadrons of cavalry of the guard. The ground was kept by Cossacks of that force, fine able-bodied men. There were many French officers and soldiers, as well as national guards of Paris, to view the inspection. The Russian troops, on this occasion, made a grand display. The appearance of the men and neatness of their uniforms could not fail to impress the observer with a high opinion of them.

Here I had the pleasure of recognizing an English gentleman with whom I had become acquainted when passing Rheims, in 1810. Having introduced him to my friends he agreed to accompany us, at the conclusion of the review, to Versailles. A resident six months in Paris, by permission of the minister of war, he was necessarily acquainted with occurrences preceding its occupation. I shall hereafter give an account of the extraordinary scenes related by him touching the advance of the allies, and the efforts made to frustrate their attempts to bring the contest to a conclusion. The Russians appeared

to go through their various manœuvres with great exactness. This was observed by some French officers (out of uniform) standing near our party. Not long after, the emperor came on the ground, he was joined by two officers in British uniform, who were reported to be Lord Cathcart and his son. His lordship, it will be remembered, had been for a long period the representative of our government, near the person of the emperor Alexander. The sight was most agreeable, when once more beholding the British military costume: with the exception of the officers of the local corps already mentioned, we had not seen a coat of scarlet for years.

During the excursion to Verseilles the conversation turned upon events prior to the action of the 30th March. It may be conceived the individuals who had thus unexpectedly joined us, (namely the surgeon's companion, and our former fellow-captive,) were able to furnish considerable information on occurrences which the public prints had not named. My friend was at Chateau Thierry at the time of its falling into

the power of the Prussian army, under its persevering commander Blucher. Had it not been for the uncertainty, as regarded the position of the various detached French divisions between that place and the coast, he might then have been able to reach a port of embarkation, and finally quitted France. Considering the risk too great, and confident that the allies would ultimately succeed in reaching Paris, he followed the road taken by the Prussian commander to Montmirail. Napoleon suddenly appeared with a considerable force and attacked Blucher with such impetuosity that he was compelled to retire from that place through Chateau Thierry, on Etoges, with great loss, when my informant once more fell into the power of the enemy. He then assumed the character of an assistant in the Prussian hospitals, and passed unnoticed: had it been otherwise, considering the notification given relative to prisoners of war being found near the lines of the invaders, his fate might have been decided in the summary way that ordinance alluded to.

I have already spoken of the opinion prevailing

amongst the English residents at Blois, that the emperor of Austria was disposed to bring the war to a conclusion by negociation. Circumstances now came to light, showing pretty clearly the supposition was not erroneous. While at Chatres, Napoleon received a dispatch from his father-in-law, urging him to accept the proposals which had been made by the sovereigns then assembled at Chatillon, by which concession he might avert his own downfall and that of his house. It is hardly necessary to observe, the advice was unheeded. Flushed with advantages gained over Blucher, and the Russian divisions acting with him, Napoleon refused to recognise the instructions previously given to his minister, the Duke of Bassano, on the 3rd of February, viz: to accept the basis of the allied sovereigns. It had been remarked that the battles occuring between the Austrians and the French, were not attended with the severe loss to either, which marked the result of those between the latter and the Russians and Prussians. The former did not appear to engross so much of Napoleon's

attention (nor, probably, his hatred either) as did the latter. On the capture of Rheims, the Austrian generalissimo began to fear that the defenders would, as they had done by Blucher, get into his rear; he, therefore, thought of retiring on Troyes. Happily (more particularly for those whose captivity could only terminate by the successful occupation of Paris) Lord Castlereagh had joined the allied sovereigns, and instantly notified that should a retreat be decided upon, the subsidies of England would, from that moment, be discontinued. The notification had the effect of causing the Prince of Swartzenberg once more to advance and form a junction with the Silesian army. As Buonaparte had not a force sufficient to prevent the invaders marching direct on Paris, the result of the contest became no longer doubtful. I give this merely as the current report of the period on which I write. If true, it may be inquired, why was the junction spoken of, not sooner effected? Such was the question I have often heard repeated during my stay in the capital.

The country between the Marne and Paris

had been for weeks the scene of much bloodshed. Several towns were destroyed: of those said to suffer particularly were Mery and Chateau Thierry. The unfortunate inhabitants of the districts where the conflicts had raged fled, such as had the means, towards Paris, taking with them their children and moveable effects. Several of the towns were twice in possession of the allies, previous to their final advance: what the sufferings of the people must have been, under such circumstances, may be readily conceived. According to my friend's statement, Napoleon appeared pale and weary on entering Chateau Thierry, in pursuit of Blucher's army. As we proceeded to Verseilles, every village, bourg, or town was occupied by foreign troops. There were likewise in the vicinity the corps (or rather the remains of it) which had been commanded by Marmont. The countenances of these men bespoke excessive indignation at being thus surrounded by the forces of the invaders. It will be remembered that Marshal Marmont had entered into a separate convention for his corps

d'armée, and repairing to Paris had left the command with Count Southam, then stationed at Essonne. After the occupation of Paris, Napoleon ordered that person to repair to him at Fontainbleau. The order was not only unattended to but, in conjunction with the superior officers of his division, he decided on observing the convention made by Marmont. Without informing the troops of what was intended, at an early hour, on the 5th April, the march commenced towards Verseilles. On its being known they were to be cantoned, surrounded by the allies, a violent commotion ensued, and several soldiers were killed before order was restored. Such was the secrecy observed, that these dispirited men were in the power of the invaders ere they had the means to resist. They were now seen quietly, though apparently with reluctance, residing in the villages, &c. with their former opponents. Such was the occurrence, the French will ever consider as an act of defection on the part of Marshal Marmont. It has been said that Tallyrand,

when some one called the Marshal a traitor, said, wittily, "Not at all: his watch only goes a little faster than the rest." Many of the men belonging to this corps were in almost a ragged condition; it was really pitiable to look on several as we passed at the principal entrance of Verseilles, sitting by the door of an inn, without shoes.

Verseilles was thronged with military; they were moreover cantoned in every village around it. Owing to having spent considerable time at the morning's review, we had the misfortune to arrive beyond the hour at which the interior of the palace was to be viewed; the exterior, however, compensated for the disappointment, and amply repaid the trouble of coming thus far exposed to great heat, as well as the annoyance of having to travel by roads covered with dust. The approach to the palace has not the magnificence to induce a stranger to conceive he is entering the most superb edifice of which France or any other country can boast. Passing the avenue and reaching the terrace the view is indescribable. Thousands of persons were here promenading,

enjoying the coolness with which innumerable fountains and jets d'eau refreshed the air. The waters are ejected from figures cast in bronze, of the most grotesque form and endless description. Several, I have heard it remarked, would probably appear to greater advantage if partially covered. In the lower grounds, the view of which from the terrace is considered to far exceed that from Richmond Hill, groups of dancers, puppet-shows, parties enjoying gymnastic exercises, others sailing and rowing on the reservoirs, formed a scene that might well attract so many visiters as were here this day. A Frenchman standing near us was overheard to say, while viewing these extraordinary exhibitions, "Verseilles has not appeared so gay since the period of 1798." The far greater part of the company was composed of military officers: there were likewise many French families, and not a few English mixing with them. Such was the novelty of the scene that our stay was prolonged till ten o'clock; even then many carriages, cabriolets, &c. &c. were left waiting in the open space before the principal entrance of the palace. I

was somewhat pleased to perceive that the surgeon during the day's perambulation, showed less animosity towards the invaders than had in preceding cases accompanied his observations on them. When jocosely asked whether he did not think they behaved quite as well as his companions, during their stay in Prussia, he answered, "Certainly, and much better; for our troops did not conduct themselves as they ought to have done there."

Having made preparation at an early hour the following day to proceed to Fontainbleau, according to appointment, the surgeon's friend came to announce that he would be unable to attend, the person for whom he had waited having arrived; nevertheless the bearer of his message would feel pleasure in accompanying us. Conceiving that he likewise might have occupation elsewhere, and desirous not to interfere, the offer was declined. Should it appear to the reader that I have unnecessarily dwelt on the attentions received from this individual, as likewise those of the priest, I trust it will be attributed to a desire of shewing that I am not less willing

to acknowledge kindnesses received from Frenchmen, than I have been anxious to correctly report the many acts of ill treatment I had to contend with during my captivity amongst them. At this period (the 22nd May) few of those who had arrived from Gueret were remaining in Paris: the expression of one of our party when alluding to their absence, that they had set us a proper example by going home, brought us to a similar decision. I now come to the information gathered from our English companion to which the reader has been referred.

For some time after the expulsion of the Russians from Rheims, Napoleon's movements were unknown. On a courier being intercepted he was ascertained to have his head quarters at St. Dezier. It was then evident he intended, by placing himself in rear of the invaders, to cut off their reinforcements and supplies, being without forces sufficient to impede their march on Paris. Notwithstanding, the grand army of the Prince of Schwartzenburg continued to advance by the banks of the Seine. The corp of Marshal Marmont and Mortier not being powerful

enough to prevent this movement, retired before Blucher to Meaux, situated near the fauxbourgs of the capital. It has been asserted that many prisoners were made by Napoleon at this crisis, amongst whom were several of distinction. The emperor of Austria had nearly fallen into his power. Distant sound of cannon was first heard in Paris in the afternoon of the 26th March, and, as may be conceived, it caused considerable alarm. The inhabitants then found that the safety of the city was not quite so certain as the Moniteur, and the assurances of the ex-king Joseph, would fain make them believe. On the following day he passed in review the regular troops and national guards, exhorting them, should the strangers dare to appear, to a vigorous defence. The exhortation had the effect of exciting the troops, at the moment, to repeat the favourite cry of "Vive l'Empereur." To quote the assertion of my informant, it might have been thought the allies would not succeed in entering the city, at least, without immence loss, and after considerable delay. Joseph returned

from the Place Carousel, evidently delighted with the spirit which animated the troops, and the Parisians began to forget the fright caused by the cannonade of the preceding day. Their tranquillity was however soon to be disturbed, for at noon of the 28th, the terrified inhabitants of the villages near the barriers hurried into the city, bringing with them everything it was possible to move. To use the assertion of my friend, it was a scene which baffled description. Wounded soldiers crawled within the gates, taking refuge on the steps of the houses, or under the trees of the Boulevards. The hope entertained by many that, unable to prevent the approach of the invaders, and to save Paris the horrors of an assault or a bombardment, Napoleon would accept any terms the allies might offer, had now vanished. On the 29th the Empress and her son left with an escort for Blois. During this day every preparation was made to oppose the enemy; carriages laden with arms, ammunition, and provisions, passed along the Boulevards, going towards the fortified heights of Montmartre. Notwithstanding these

ominous forebodings the cafés and public walks were thronged with visiters, and frequent was the inquiry heard, " Is there not an armistice?" At noon, the regular troops having left the city, the barriers were confided to the national guard. Towards evening some confusion prevailed, owing to some demonstrations in favour of the Bourbons, the police, aided by the national guard, were however sufficient to restore order, and the night passed in tolerable quiet. Early the following morning the population was again in movement. In the cafes, particularly those on the Boulevards de la Madeline and les Italiens, the company took their coffee and refreshments, little anticipating the dénouement which was soon to follow. The papers of this day said little as to the situation of the armies. At eleven o'clock the sound of cannon from the direction of Pantin, once more caused uneasiness. It gradually became stronger, when about three o'clock a general rush, if not a flight, took place, from the vicinity of the barrier at the port St. Martin, along the Boulevards. A panic spread itself every where. Many wounded officers were carried towards the

hospitals on mattresses; and many wounded soldiers who had managed to crawl in, died on the pavement, without any aid being afforded to them. The amount of the regular troops which had marched to reinforce the defenders, was variously reported. According to assertion, it was composed of 8000 to 9000 regulars, and 35,000 of the national guard.* The former were joined to the corps of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and placed in advance. The reserve comprised the national guards, (many of whom were but armed with pikes) and such of the workmen of Paris as could be induced to join in defence of their dwellings, were under the orders of Marshal Moncey. The Austrians commenced the attack, and were followed by the Russians: Blucher was unable to join for some time. The defence, at every point, was honourable to the French army, considering the great superiority of numbers on the

* I have since learned that they amounted to 8000 regulars and 26,000 of the national guard. Of the latter, many supposed to be attached to the exiled monarch, were not brought into action, but posted far in the rear, and within a short distance of the barriers.

side of the allies.* The action continued without intermission, from eleven o'clock in the morning till nearly five in the afternoon. An armistice was then demanded on the part of Marmont: it resulted in a capitulation being signed that evening, by which all the regular troops had to leave the city.

Napoleon was aware on the 27th of the concentrated movement of the invaders on Paris, when he instantly marched from St. Dezier with his whole force, in the hope of arriving in time to assist in its defence. His remaining inactive for some days at that place, allowing the Austrians to advance and support the movements of the Russian and Prussian armies which had driven Marmont and Mortier's divisions as far as Meaux, was frequently and severely commented upon by the Parisians. He reached Troyes in the night of

* Frenchmen are proud, and justly too, of the defence made on that day. Considering how greatly the corps of Marmont and Mortier had been dispirited and reduced by continued fighting for weeks previous, moreover, that the reinforcements sent from Paris but amounted to what I have represented, too much cannot be said in their praise.

the 29th. Owing to badness of the roads the troops were excessively fatigued and not a little dispirited by recent events. The country which for weeks had been the scene of strife, was so exhausted, that provisions were with difficulty obtained. The poorer part of the population had frequently been compelled to take refuge in the woods, leaving their humble thresholds to the mercy of an enraged soldiery. On these occasions, if statements could be relied upon, the French troops paid as little respect to the property of the absentees as did the invaders. Quitting his corpe d'armée at Troyes that evening, Napoleon proceeded post with a few attendants, for Fontainbleau, where he arrived after midnight: his carriage was immediately put in requisition, and accompanied, it was said, only by Caulaincourt and Berthier, he once more proceeded for Paris, though uncertain of its fate. During the progress of the journey it was intimated to him that his army had been worsted in the morning. To these reports he appeared to pay no attention; however, on arriving at the second post, the sad announcement

was made, by a postilion, that all was over. Napoleon was excessively enraged at the man's assurance, had a gen'darme been near, this act of officiousness would have doubtless been atoned for within the walls of a prison. The carriage had proceeded but a short distance when the bitter truth was to be revealed in a way unquestionable. The different divisions which had been engaged during the preceding day at Montmartre, came up on their way to Fontainbleau. The commander of the one in advance was stopped and asked the object of his moving in that direction.* Napoleon then heard the result of the battle before the walls of Paris, and that a convention had been signed, by which the regular troops were to retire to a certain distance from that ill-fated field. "'Tis false!" he re-

* In 1829 I was fortunate enough to travel from Tours to Bourdeaux with an officer who had been with this leading column of cavalry. He told me it was commanded by Count Belliard. Informing him that I had kept a journal of occurrences at that period, and explaining the information I obtained touching the occurrence here reported of Napoleon's meeting the retiring troops, he assured me I had been correctly informed, adding, "He was certainly (meaning Napoleon) in a great rage when speaking to Belliard. The army did all it could on that day, but the enemy was in too great force."

plied; "it cannot, must not be! Paris shall not capitulate! You have none of you done your duty—return instantly." Scarcely was the order complied with, when the second column appeared, and its chief was similarly questioned. Finding the preceding report confirmed in every particular and that the remainder of the forces were coming in the same direction, he turned pale, as if a stupor had come over him, and, pausing for a moment, he turned to the officer saying, "Continue to move on then, take up a position with the Essonne in your front." Caulaincourt immediately quitted to proceed to Paris, while Napoleon retraced his steps to Fontainbleau, there calmly to reflect on the end of his greatness, and to regret not having accepted the repeated offers of the allied sovereigns, made at Chatillon, by which he would have remained Emperor of the French, and have avoided the fate which now doomed him to exile in Elba.

CHAPTER VII.

DEPARTURE FROM PARIS—FRENCH OFFICERS MET WITH AT BEAUVAIS—OCCURRENCE ON THE ROAD TO AMIENS—JOURNEY TO ABBEVILLE—ARRIVAL AT BOULOGNE—ANECDOTE RELATING TO BUONAPARTE DURING HIS VISIT TO THAT PLACE—FORMER FELLOW CAPTIVES MET WITH THERE &c.—AT CALAIS—ARRIVAL AT DOVER.

PROCURING a fiaçre which had brought an English party from Calais, we quitted Paris on the 24th May; the weather fortunately continued fine and the roads in good condition, a circumstance which gratified our conductor, he, like ourselves, being anxious to speedily reach home. During the day several carriages filled with our countrymen going at a quick pace towards, what has not been improperly designated "the seat of folly and vice," Paris, passed us. At six o'clock, we reached Beauvais, a place of considerable extent as well as antiquity. While

dinner was preparing we strolled through the principal parts of the town, and for the first time, met with a number of French soldiers and sailors recently returned from captivity in England. The prison dress of these people was still more conspicious than that already described as worn by our sailors, &c. during their confinement in France. It was composed of a jacket and trowsers of coarse yellow cloth with a red waistcoat. We conversed with several on the subject of their treatment while confined, and they did not complain to the extent that might have been anticipated; the prison ships were, however, to be greatly dreaded.

The allies, principally Prussians, were here quartered in considerable numbers, and if accounts were correct, they were on good terms with the inhabitants.

A curious custom was said to prevail in this place. During the seige, so far back as 1742, the town was defended by women. For their heroic conduct on that occasion, they invariably took precedence of the men in an annual solemn

procession commemorative of the event on 10th of July. There is a manufactory of tapestry at Beauvais, said to be little inferior to that of the gobelins of Paris. On returing to the hotel, five individuals had seated themselves at the table at which we were to dine: although out of uniform, it was easy to discover they were military men. They soon discovered to what country we belonged, when a conversation commenced amongst them which left no doubt they were smarting under the recollection of a captivity. Probably disappointed at their remarks not eliciting any observation from us, without previous apology one inquired if we "were not Englishmen returning from Paris," likewise "how matters went on there." The answer being confined to the first interrogatory, and perceiving we had no desire to enter into general conversation, much less to give an opinion on the latter, the person seated on the right of the one who had addressed us (he was some time employed making the point of a table-knife serve as a toothpick, a practice not very uncommon with his class) commenced an harangue, first informing us that

he and his companions had just returned from England where they had long been prisoners of war. The notification was followed by a sally of abuse too disgusting to repeat: let it suffice reader that this furious libeller whose attacks seemed to find an echo in each of his companions, (they enjoyed amazingly what probably might be designated by them a castigation) spared not less the character of the females than that of the male sex. The implication that we were a nation of cheats and drunkards was the only one it was thought necessary to remark upon, this was done by my companion, who had so ably silenced three similar worthies met with on our route from Orleans to Paris, to which I have already alluded. It was not in giving the accusation at once a firm denial, but by replying that if intoxication was really so habitual to the English people, how came it, that our fleets destroyed theirs wherever they met: my friend was about to put a similar question touching events which had occurred in the Peninsula where the respective armies had been so often opposed, but was suddenly interrupted by the bravo rising, flourishing

his knife, bringing the point with force on the table, and exclaiming, "it is false." The expression coming from such a quarter, was treated with indifference; he was, after a pause, again about to address us, but being told that further observations coming from him would pass without notice, in great anger he left the room. The dinner being served, he re-appeared. With the evaporation of his indignation, we presumed, his appetite had been lessened, as he eat more sparingly than the previous preparation of his teeth, in the way described, would have implied. No sooner was dinner over, than these *liberal* persons retired, nor were we afterwards favored with a sight of them during the remainder of our stay at Beauvais. The apparent age of the individuals here spoken of, precluded the possibility of its being thought they had served with the republican armies, whose character various French writers have so much extolled, when reporting their pay as but eight francs per month: "that they eat of the same loaf as the common soldier;" otherwise one might have been tempted to conceive, that it had been the school where their *refined* manners, thus

conspicuously exhibited, had been acquired. On the 25th, we proceeded for Amiens. The ride lay through an uninteresting country, and although it was spring, the verdure was far below what the central parts of England usually present at a corresponding season. The number of prisoners returning home (attired as already described) far exceeded that met with on the previous day.—On being stopped by a party of them, to ascertain the distance to Beauvais, we took occasion to inquire how they had been treated in England. They did not greatly complain of the depôts. The prison ships, however, and as customary, were represented as most horrible abodes.—Although the journey was long, Beauvais being distant nearly forty miles from Amiens, we arrived in sufficient time to inspect its celebrated cathedral, as likewise to view a considerable part of the town, ere night set in. Amiens is represented as containing more churches and religious meeting-houses than any other town in France.* Of the correctness of this representation, I will

* I have heard Frenchmen call it the Jesuits' home.

not presume to offer an opinion. I am less scrupulous in asserting that it has more street-beggars (many objects of such excessive deformity, that it is painful to look on them) than any town I have ever visited on the Continent. The traveller is not unfrequently, to avoid the importunities of these distressed objects, compelled to force his way through them, when entering into, or descending from a Diligence, and if, perchance, he should push one of them roughly aside, the prayer which had commenced for the prosperity of his journey speedily gives way to a curse at his want of care in passing, as well as that of his humanity.*— Why the authorities of such a wealthy town as Amiens should not put a stop to the nuisance here spoken of, has frequently excited the traveller's surprise. I do not recollect, during the entire of my captivity, having seen beggars in the public streets, save on the Sunday. It had

* Every time I visit this place, and for the last eight years, I have been accustomed to pass annually twice through it, the nuisance I have alluded to seems rather to augment than otherwise.

been said, that Napoleon forbid their quitting the receptacles allotted to them, except on that day; nor was it even then allowed beyond the hour of noon. On inquiry, we were told, there was but a small detachment of the Allies quartered at Amiens; it was composed principally of Prussian troops, between whom and the inhabitants there was little intercourse.* At 10 o'clock the following morning, we left for Abbeville. It came on to rain heavily: our conductor was excessively annoyed, as the powder which had been laid on profusely, in order, no doubt, to set off his huge queque to the greatest advantage, soon became as so much paste.† He swore vehemently as it knocked the upper part of his back, owing to the motion of the vehicle, at same time inveighing bitterly at the sudden change the weather had taken.‡ On approaching the town, a crowd of ragged beings were

* After the memorable battle of Waterloo, Amiens had a body of British troops quartered in it. If I am correctly informed, they remained there the entire of the three years the army of occupation were watching France.

† May it not be asked was flour not used for the purpose?

‡ 'Tis said no people dislike rain more than the French. I believe it.

collected. There had just been a fracas between some English sailors and a number of the country-people returning from the market. Our conductor stopped to glean particulars, but as there were so many women ready to answer his inquiry, all speaking at the same instant, whipping his horses, we passed on. A little beyond where this scene occurred, and nearer the town, we met seven English sailors going there. They were all intoxicated. I recognised amongst them two of those for whom my friends and I had interested ourselves but recently at Paris—when the rencontre with the market-people was thus described by them:—"They met a number of women mounted on asses, and thinking it no harm to give them a kiss, they set to work. The old ones did not much mind it, but two young ones made the d-v-l's own work. One, in the struggle, fell off, when the rest, dismounting, began to belabour them with their sticks most unmercifully." Not wishing to strike a parcel of women, they took French leave. Three countrymen, seeing the row at a

distance, pursued and overtook them. They soon served them out—and afterwards continued the journey." Such was the version of the affair, as given by these drunken ci-devant fellow-captives of ours. Inquiring of those we had relieved, where the money was which had been collected for them, "It had disappeared; and they did not know what they should do to get something to eat, or how to live till they reached Boulogne." On a trifling sum being handed, they assured us that "nothing but water should be tasted till they once more got afloat." A declaration, which I need scarcely tell the reader, would be broken ere the hour of night. When entering Abbeville, we passed a small detachment of the allied cavalry, said to be going into cantonments, in a bourg, a few miles to the left of the road we had left. Their horses were in better condition than most we had seen, probably owing to rest, and being better fed than during the period of hostilities. This town is of considerable extent, and a place of great manufacture; the houses are ancient

and meanly built; many are constructed of wood; others have wooden frame-work, with the intervals filled with clay and white-washed, the protruding beams being painted black, give them an ancient and a not less singular appearance. The streets of Abbeville are narrow and rudely paved. It is situated in a fertile valley, but the country for some distance, before approaching the suburbs, is exceedingly poor, and consequently void of that interest which makes travelling at all times agreeable. There is not a hedge, fence, or tree on some parts of the road from Amiens here, to be seen, even at a distance. I was surprised to find this part of France so barren in this particular; to Alsace, the district where I had been long confined, it was not to be compared. In the hotel where we alighted two English families were staying, on their way to Paris; one had arrived but a short time previous.—On looking over their names, inserted in the landlord's book, one of my companions conceived that a gentleman of the party was a relative of his. It was intimated we were to

dine at the same table with them; but such was my friend's anxiety, that he could not wait for the hour. Sending in his name, in pencil, on a card, a gentleman instantly came forward, without uttering a syllable, looking attentively at each other, for a few seconds, it turned out they were cousins. I leave the reader to imagine how happy this meeting must have been. My companion, after an absence of eleven years, was thus, unexpectedly, met by a member of his family; and, somewhat overpowered, he left us. When returning, the vivacity and humour, for which he was ever remarked, was no longer observable. Although some of his inquiries respecting former friends, met with satisfactory replies, others had a different result, and this accounted for the unlooked-for change I have mentioned. Had it not been for this circumstance, we might have passed an agreeable evening with the strangers. The ladies, of whom there were three, were very chatty, though, probably, a little too inquisitive as to our general opinions of the softer sex of the country they had

come to visit. They were not a little astonished, as well they might, at the barren aspect of the country from Calais to Abbeville, asserting that more was to be seen in passing over Hounslow Heath than during the entire of the journey from that town, yet Calais has been greatly extolled by many writers.

The morning of the 27th set in with heavy rain, which continued with little intermission till our arrival at the town of Montreuil Sur Mer, a small though strongly fortified place, on the river Canche, and within a few miles of the coast. Here, for the first time since quitting Paris, our passports had to be examined. They were submitted, in the first instance, to the inspection of an officer attached to a party of the allies quartered in the town, and afterwards to a French commissary of police. His politeness when returning them, bore a strange contrast as compared with the haughty manner whenever we had unfortunately been brought in contact with the worthies of his class during our captivity. The road from Montreuil to Boulogne passes, in may parts, over elevated ground; owing to

this and the quantity of rain, the journey was excessively tedious. To us it was more so than to those who had come to France merely to satisfy their curiosity. More than eleven years had elapsed since either of my companions had beheld the sea. With the exception of the casual view occurring at South Beveland, on my attempting to escape, it had also been five years hid from me. The reader may consequently form some idea of the feelings of persons thus situated, when, on gaining the summit of the rising ground, a short distance from Boulogne, the open sea lay before us. The state of the atmosphere was such as not to allow a glimpse of that happy country to which my thoughts had often turned during this tedious detention. At an auberge near the entrance of the town, a party of sailors, still wearing the prison dress, were enjoying their pipes, and, it is necessary I should also add, a glass of grog. I instantly recognised two of them as having formed part of the crew of the vessel in which I had been captured. Since our separation, in 1810, they were greatly changed, owing

to long confinement and tedious marches for three months subsequent to their removal from Cambrai. They were now from the depôt of Guise; and, like others of their class, who had been fortunate enough to meet with Englishmen going towards Paris, had been relieved by them.

We had proceeded but a short distance into the lower town of Boulogne, when several former fellow-captives came up. They informed us that a government cutter had just arrived, and that those who thought proper might embark by her. To ascertain the correctness of the statement, the officer in command (a lieutenant) was waited upon by one of my fellow-travellers, he received from him a confirmation of the report alluded to, and the hour of five, the following morning, was named for our departure. It being unnecessary to proceed to Calais, we dismissed our postilion, though he was rather anxious we should continue the journey, asserting the passage was far more certain from his place of residence than from whence we now were. During the remainder of the day we

visited the upper and lower towns of Boulogne, as likewise the harbour, where lay several of Napoleon's flotilla, which had been prepared for the invasion of England, so long back as 1804. They were now not only dismantled, but to all appearance in a rotten state. These vessels were built to carry guns of large calibre and a considerable body of troops, each apparently drawing not more than three to four feet of water; I observed painted on the stern of each, La Ville de ——, corresponding with the name of the town in which subscriptions were raised to pay for their construction. At the observatory situated at the extreme point of the land, at the left of the entrance to the harbour, we found a number of persons collected. A French gentleman (whose countenance, appearance, and conversation, denoted him to be a royalist) related to us a circumstance relative to Napoleon, which had occurred on the spot where we then were.

I must previously remark, the stranger asserted the anecdote was communicated to him by no less a personage than the Maritime Prefect of Boulogne, and who attended Napoleon

on the occasion. Some time after his marriage with Maria Louisa,* accompanied by his bride, he took an excursion to the sea coast. When arriving at the observatory alluded to, two of those never-ceasing disturbers of Frenchmen's tranquillity, (whose lot it was to reside in a sea-port town during the period of war) namely, an English frigate and a sloop of war, were in the offing. Many of the flotilla were anchored in the roadstead. A rear-admiral,† attending Napoleon, was instantly ordered to get his numerous fleet under weigh, and to capture or destroy the enemy who thus audaciously bearded him in his own port. However uncongenial to his feelings, the admiral instantly repaired on board one of the larger prames, when the entire of his flat-bottomed squadron got under weigh. At this time many of the inhabitants of Boulogne had assembled at the promontory, to

* I well remember, the French papers, in announcing the arrival of the new married couple at the borders of the sea, represented the delight of her Majesty as great, it being the first time she had seen the ocean. There was nothing, however, said of the occurrence I am about to name.

† That officer was reported as Admiral Baske.

obtain a glimpse of the new Empress. Our tars were not less anxious for the fray than Napoleon. As their enemies approached, our solitary vessels' sails were kept shivering in the wind, and, with a receding tide, they gradually drew from the land, in the hope of inducing their assailants to venture out into a more open sea. The fire of the flotilla commenced almost as soon as they weighed; it was, however, unreturned, till the rear-admiral considered that he had gained sufficient honor in causing our ships to retire to an inconsiderable distance, made the signal to haul in for the harbour. It was a signal as speedily attended to by H.B.M.'s ships: the frigate ran alongside one of the largest prames, which she soon carried by boarding, making great slaughter amongst her crew. The sloop of war, in a similar way, took possession of another, and a third sunk with all on board. Napoleon's rage on witnessing this affair, so stated my informant, was excessive. Walking at a quick pace to and fro in the observatory, he looked attentively towards our ships, which by this time were as close in

with the harbour as when first seen, and took snuff with more than his usual avidity, bestowing on the admiral epithets of the most disgraceful description. The signal was made for that officer to repair to him. Maria Louisa endeavoured, though uselessly, it is said, to soothe her husband's anger, on this occasion. When the admiral came, aware of the rebuke awaiting him, he was about to enter into explanation, Napoleon stopped him by inquiring, "Well, Sir, is this not disgraceful? How comes it you returned without taking or destroying those ships?" "My vessel, Sire, was pierced with balls," he replied. "Indeed!" said Napoleon, folding his arms, and looking at the unfortunate officer attentively, for a few seconds, "and if she were, had you no other to take?" He then stepped to the front of the observatory, and taking another attentive look at the British ships, whose prizes now displayed the English ensign floating above the tri-coloured flag, he struck the rail with violence, and again approaching the Admiral, used this remark: "You say your vessel was pierced with balls:

pray, what did I do whenever I had a horse shot under me?" and receiving no reply, he added, with a contemptuous look, "why, Sir, I took another!" Napoleon then returned to the town, with a countenance betokening extreme indignation at the occurrence here related, and which must have given his bride no mean opinion of the bravery of English seamen, when opposed to those of her fiery consort.

The people of Boulogne were represented as retaining feelings of strong dislike towards our country, owing to the repeated bombardments of the town by the British squadrons, during the recent war. On several occasions it had suffered considerably, particularly from the effect of Congreve rockets.* Had these attacks been

* In 1827 I had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Sir Wm. Congreve, the inventor of the celebrated rockets, then residing at Bordeaux. He had come to the south of France for the benefit of his health by a government vessel which had been placed at his disposal by the admiralty. Previous to reaching the Garonne he visited several of the sea-port towns; on occasions of his being recognised, expressions of indignation were applied to him, doubtless by those who had been sufferers from the effect of the invention which had given his name so much celebrity. Sir William afterwards took up his

confined to the destruction of the flotilla in the roadstead, the population would have had little cause to murmur. Notwithstanding the vigilance of the British cruisers, privateering was carried on to a considerable extent: many were necessarily captured, and not a few of the crews being natives of the town, were for a long period in confinement in the prisons of England. Their return was, doubtless, attended with the system of misrepresentation, as regarded the cruelty practiced on board the prison ships, which had been observed in all cases where others of their countrymen had been subjected to similar confinement. Hence we may account for the dislike alluded to.

At the appointed hour of five o'clock, on the morning of the 28th, we prepared to embark by the vessel which had arrived the previous day, little suspecting any obstacle would occur

residence at Toulouse, where he died. The journal of that place, in recording the event, announced the funeral being attended by the municipal authorities, and the principal military officers; the interment was moreover made with military honors, an act which, it may be said, reflected much credit on them.

to prevent the long-wished-for departure. When on the point of stepping into the boat to join the cutter, one of those officious personages attached to the department of the marine, required to inspect our passports. Finding they were without the signature of his chief, he notified we could not embark. The moment was critical: the vessel was laying to, and owing to the state of the tide, she would be compelled to leave immediately. The reader will imagine how mortifying the result of this unexpected occurrence must have been, when I state that, owing to the delay in procuring the required signature, on our return to the jetty the cutter had sailed, and was then distant some miles from the port. Whether the disappointment gave pleasure to those who had caused it, I will not determine; the expostulations of some of our party were received with a smile at the annoyance we had no alternative but to bear with. Applying to several innkeepers for the hire of conveyances to Calais, the sums asked were so exhorbitant, that, sooner than submit to extortion, we decided to proceed on foot to that

place, although situated at a distance of more than twenty English miles. The whole party, consisting of 25, but recently liberated from different depôts, immediately began to move. This determination, as may be imagined, operated to lessen the demands, in the first instance, made by the worthy carriage owners of Boulogne, and their vehicles were offered at a moderate rate. Finding the reductions came too late, they were not less astonished than indignant.* Marching once more as if in a detachment, brought back many recollections: it was, I can assure the reader, the happiest journey I had ever been

* For several years I have been in the habit of visiting Boulogne, when on my way to and from Paris. The change perceptible in this town is not a little astonishing: the lower one now contains many handsome buildings, and the suburbs are become exceedingly extended. The reader will inquire how it occurs that Boulogne should rise so rapidly? It can only be attributed to the number of English who have taken up their abode here. If correctly informed, there were near four thousand residing there in the summer of last year. The motive which induces them to make it their residence must be that of cheap living, as there is not a more barren county to be met with within France than the one in its vicinity. Probably English money has, ere this, effaced all recollection of the hatred felt by the inhabitants at the period of 1814.

called upon to perform during my rssidence in France. We quitted Boulogne at 10 a. m., and walking at a moderate pace, reached Calais somewhat after five o'clock in the afternoon. During the morning the atmosphere was too dense to permit a view of the cliffs of Dover; it however cleared about three o'clock. When first seen by several of the sailors of our party, three hearty cheers followed. These poor fellows invariably stopped at cottages where a bush hanging out on a poll over the door, denotes liquids may be purchased. These frequent stoppages gave rise to many ludicrous incidents during the day. As we approached Calais the sailors came to a decision to kiss every woman and shake hands with the men whom they might perchance meet. Several market women, mounted on asses, coming from thence were thus complimented, not, however, without a struggle. The "sailor's grasp" was by no means relished by two waggoners, if their exclamations and swearing were to be taken as proof. When within sight of the town five carts approached: the conductors, totally unprepared for a squeeze, endeavoured to keep off the sailors

by means of the whip; this was quite sufficient as the preamble to a row. While some were occupied in gaining possession of the implements which the waggoners had attempted thus foolishly to use, others guided their horses off the road. One cart was driven into a ditch, and from which, to all appearance, it would require an additional number of horses to remove it. The Frenchmen were excessively enraged at the conduct of the sailors, bestowing on them epithets which it was well the latter did not comprehend, as, in such event, there would have been still further ground for their complaining. To those unacquainted with the character of a British sailor, the freaks alluded to may appear to have emanated from a feeling of revenge towards a people with whom they never were favorites, and whose country had been to them the scene of years of rigorous confinement Quite the contrary; all they wanted, and to use their common expression, was a lark. Had the waggoners at once shaken hands, matters would have passed off quietly. The time was gone by when a Frenchman's whip, above all other things, could be held over them with impunity.

A packet reached Calais from Dover not long after our arrival, having on board a number of passengers, many of whom were Frenchmen, who had been prevented sooner returning owing to illness in their depôts. The remainder was composed of our countrymen, who came here for the sake of novelty. Soon after arriving, we visited the jetty, at the entrance to the harbour; the evening was warm and the atmosphere perfectly clear. With feellngs which the reader will readily conceive, my companions and I gazed as long as light permitted, on the distant view of the coast of England. Though separated by an expanse of more than 20 miles, we almost fancied ourselves there. On returning to the hotel we witnessed a curious scene. A number of our former fellow-prisoners were variously occupied, the greater part preparing to embark the following day. Several who, during their detention, had been on parole, finding a single life exceedingly monotonous, had selected partners of the tender sex, and with whom they lived on apparently happy terms. I have already mentioned that in several of

the detachments which left Verdun for Blois, ladies were frequently to be seen mixing with them. The time had now arrived when a separation became, if not absolutely necessary, at least, on the part of the gentlemen, to be desired. It required, however, no mean effort to effect this, as the demoiselles could see no reason why they could not live as happily with their lovers in England, as they had been accustomed to do in their own country. I was amused to listen to the arguments used to induce these females to return to their former residences; supplications, even offers of money, and promises to return, were of no avail, go they would to England. If told that a wife was anxiously expecting her husband, the reply was, "Pray, what does that signify? I shall do her no harm!" Tears had no effect in changing the hard heartedness of former protectors, and allow of the continuance of longer attachment. It has been asserted that Lord North once said, that to get a wife was a work less difficult than to get quit of one. Certainly the scene I witnessed on this occasion impressed me with the belief that his lordship's assertion had been maturely weighed, as even

without the right which the marriage ceremony confers—and they had it not—there was every difficulty in getting quit of the ladies here described. Several of whom were exceedingly violent, declaring, that if not allowed to embark they would plunge into the sea. These scenes continued till a late hour: they were little less annoying to us, in all probability, than to those immediately interested in them.

On the 29th, at an early hour, we repaired to the bureau of the Commissary of Marine, where our passports were countersigned, and a printed permission given, by which we might embark at pleasure. When quitting the office five of the females here spoken of, were about to enter, they urged us to intercede with that functionary to obtain similar authority for them —a request, I need scarcely say, it was not thought prudent to comply with. The moment having now arrived for my quitting France, I cannot do so without declaring that I retain no feeling of ill will towards her people, for the severities with which I have had too frequently to contend. From that class unconnected with

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THE QUEEN'S JOURNEY CONDUCTED BY PRINCE ALBERT TO THEIR DEPOT.

after the picture.

the military, I have on many occasions received kindnesses, which were the more valuable from the particular position in which the parties were placed, when granting them; namely, under the watchful eye of the police. To those classes, gens d'armes and gaolers, by whom I have been so frequently led in handcuffs, and at various times lodged in cells where humidity made a confinement in them even more than a precarious existence, may they learn (should war again occur between our respective countries) the precept of humanity, and avoid treating the unfortunate and defenceless prisoner of war with the severity which ought to be reserved as the atonement for the worst of crimes. It has been remarked, that to write of a country with unbiassed feeling, where the author has been subjected to continued annoyance, and moreover, personal restraint, is impossible. I trust the reader will perceive that I have not fallen into the error, but, on the contrary, wherever I received kindnesses I have recorded my gratitude for them with as much warmth as when expressing indig-

nation at the many acts of tyranny and oppression to which it was my fate to submit, during this detention.

At noon we had the unspeakable gratification of clearing the harbour of Calais, on board of a French post-office packet, for Dover. The passengers were numerous, principally composed of those who, like myself, had been in captivity. The threatened annoyance of the French females I have alluded to, was prevented by the seasonable interference of the police, in not allowing them to approach the place of embarkation. Adverse winds and a rough sea made the passage most tedious. To our sailors it was, nevertheless, agreeable, as several had not paced the deck for years. They amused themselves by going aloft, looking to the ropes, and steering. It was impossible a vessel could be better manned. The gambols of these people amused the French captain and his crew highly. After buffeting more than seven hours, we landed once more on British ground: probably, the beach of Dover never received persons more happy

APPENDIX.

More than twenty years have elapsed since my captivity, during eight of which I have been a resident of France. Although it may be asserted I have laboured unsuccessfully, when attempting to describe the scenes through which I have passed, as literary men alone possess the faculty of representing with not less brevity than effect whatever they undertake to represent (a class to which the reader will easily perceive I do not belong); and although wanting the requisite ability, even at the hazard of being thought presumptuous, I shall offer a few remarks on that country where, at an early period of life, I was subjected to annoyances and restrictions of no ordinary kind; of which, not even the many acts of kindness that have subsequently been shewn me by Frenchmen, can serve entirely to efface the recollection.

No sooner had the peace of 1814 occurred, than publications poured forth from the Parisian press—the work of French officers who had been captives in England, containing statements of the most unfounded description, as regarded treatment during their detention. In France, as elsewhere, there are persons ever ready to give credence to reports or assertions, however improbable in their nature, provided they can but be turned to the disadvantage of other states. I will not assert she has more than her fair proportion of such worthies, though I deny she has less. It may, therefore, be conceived with what avidity the publications referred to were received, as calculated to keep up a system of hatred between the respective countries, which mutual interest tells us ought to be allayed.

I should but tire the reader, were I to give extracts from each of those scandalous publications; suffice it, therefore, to select one offering no less an insult towards our neighbours (it tries to what extent a Frenchman's credulity can be worked upon) than to a nation whose character for humanity the author has endeavoured mali-

ciously to assail. It is from a work by an officer of rank, an adjutant-commandant of the French army, made prisoner in Portugal, who had violated, on two occasions, his parole while in England: he states, "It will scarcely be "believed that, when an English officer, visiting "the prison, having left his horse in the court-"yard, found only the naked skeleton on his "return, because the prisoners, dying of hunger, "had cast themselves on the poor beast, which "they cut up alive with their knives."

Whether the worthy inventor of this marvelous tale reaped pecuniary profit by his publication, I will not conjecture, but this I can assert, that I never met with a Frenchman possessing the least discrimination, that did not pronounce it to be a *mensonge*. As if to convince those who could not put faith in all that had been previously told of the inhumanity with which the French prisoners were treated in England, the work of M. Charles Dupin appeared in the year 1801, entitled "Voyages dans la Grande Britaine enterpris relativement aux

services, publics de la Guerre, de la Marine, &c/ &c."

The estimation which M. Dupin enjoys among his countrymen, as a man possessing great abilities, whose literary productions have earned for him no inconsiderable reputation, and moreover a member of the Institute, should deign to assail the national character, by holding us up to the world as a people void of all humanity towards those whom the chances of war had thrown into our power, is not less surprising than unjust. As reputation invariably gives weight to assertion, those of his countrymen whose credence was withheld on the occasions when the publications I have alluded to appeared, now began to alter their opinions. I have frequently, in conversation with Frenchmen of that particular class whose opinion I value, when on the subject of the treatment of the prisoners of the respective nations, heard the charges to be found in Dupin's work repeated, accompanied by the assurance that "they must be true." As my narrative will, in all probability, find its way

into the hands of a few of those who place implicit faith in the assertions of this writer, when abusing our country, I shall refer, at some length, to a work of high celebrity, where talent combined with truth has, and I think the reader will agree with me, completely falsified the illiberal and unfounded assertions of which we have, as a nation, so much right to complain.* M. Dupin's first attack commences with attempting to show that his countrymen were more scrupulous in observing their parole of honour than the English, similarly situated in France. For this purpose he presents us with the following curtailed list:—

"EVADES ALTHOUGH ON PAROLE.

French detained in England..... 32

English detained in France..... 110."

On this, the work to which I alluded remarks: "We shall make no observation," says M. Dupin, "on these numbers, they speak for themselves. They certainly do; but not much in favour of his list, which we have no scruple in terming a mere fabrication—by whom he best knows

* The Quarterly Review of December 1821.

This we shall prove from authority, to which M. Dupin will not venture to refuse due respect, —the genuine *official* list of the Minister of Marine, himself. The Transport Board of England, who had the care and custody of prisoners of war, having transmitted to that minister (Monsieur Decrès) two lists of French officers who had broken their parole, between the commencement of the war and the month of August, 1811; one of which contained the names of 270 officers who escaped but had been retaken; the other of 590, who succeeded in effecting their escape; in all, 860! There appeared shortly after, in the Moniteur, an official list under the signature of that minister, containing a counter list of the names of all the English prisoners who were accused of having broken their parole, amounting in all, of all classes, to 335. Now, taking the number of French prisoners detained in England at 70,000, and of English prisoners and persons detained in France, contrary to the usage of war, among civilized nations, at 20,000, which numbers are sufficiently near the truth for our purpose, we shall have

according to these official lists, in every 10,000 prisoners 121 French and 178 English, instead of 32 and 110, who stand charged with the crime of breach of parole.

"Now let us compare the alleged breach of parole of British commissioned officers, with those of French officers, prisoners of war in England. From the commencement of the war to the month of August, 1811, the numbers will stand as follow:—

RANK.	FRENCH.	ENGLISH.
Generals	4	none.
Colonels	8	1
Lieutenant-Colonels	5	2
Majors	2	1
Captains	25	9
Lieutenants	65	10
Total	109	23

"The difference up to this time is pretty well marked, even supposing, what we confidently deny, that the English officers had been guilty of the charge brought against them; but in the three years following, the number of French

officers who violated their parole was nearly doubled. The list of these unworthy persons who fled during the period we have mentioned, contains the names of 406 officers, all of them combatants, and among them the following commissioned officers of the army and navy, the rest being captains, lieutenants and midshipmen of privateers, and ensigns, surgeons, commissaries, &c., of the army :

	FROM 1811 TO 1814.	FORMER LIST.	TOTAL.
Generals	5	4	9
Colonels	16	8	18
Lieut.-Colonels.	9	5	14
Majors	6	2	8
Captains	66	25	91
Lieutenants	94	65	159
French commissioned officers...			299

" As we cannot learn that any English officers returned from France during these three years, the number of French commissioned officers who actually violated their parole of honor is to that of the English alleged to have done so, as thirteen to one, and would be nearly as four

to one, on the supposition of the number of prisoners of war in each country being equal; so that M. Dupin's statement is totally at variance with the truth, and he might have known it to be so."

I now come to that endless subject of misrepresentation—the treatment of the French prisoners of war while on board our prison ships—and to which the reader will recollect I have not unfrequently alluded in my narrative. I am indeed happy that the opportunity is at length afforded me of vindicating the character of my country from the foul aspersions, that these ships were "floating tombs," "unhealthy ditches," "receptacles only fit to put a speedy end to man's existence," &c. &c. Such have they frequently been designated, and absent from England, I could not at the time obtain the information necessary to rebut the calumny. Alluding to M. Dupin's report of these floating prisons, the writer proceeds—"Of these ships of war prepared for the reception of prisoners, M. Dupin has thought fit to give a description as

inaccurate as it is malicious. That they were not fitted up with all those conveniences and comforts which luxury would require we are ready to admit, but that they bore the slightest resemblance to those horrible fosses of the East, where wild beasts are kept for the amusements of the despots, is a gross and unfounded calumny; what he subjoins is not less so, that, "in these, wild beasts find what is wanting to the captives of the hulks—space to enable them to feed at their ease, to walk about, to breathe and sleep." It is not true, as he asserts, that there were crammed in these horrible ditches from 600 to 900 prisoners (the falsehood is apparent from his own previous statement, in which he made them from 800 to 1200); and it is false, ten times false, that the bad air, scanty provisions, added (as he says) to the despotism, the avarice, and the cruelty of military jaolers, killed a great many, and ruined the constitution of the rest; as is likewise the assertion, that inhuman officers and knavish accountants united their authority and bad faith to plunder the un-

happy prisoner of a part of his provisions, and gave him the other part of an inferior quality."*

The insinuation that the object of the British government, in maltreating prisoners of war, was to annihilate the seamen of Foreign powers that fell into its hands, or to make the situation of prisoners so intolerable, as to force those who were not French to enter into its service, and render those who were, incapable of serving against it, is so base as to place it beneath our contempt. Surmises of this kind, without a shadow of fact to substantiate them, are not very creditable either to the head or the heart of any one. In answer, therefore, to his general and unfounded charges of cruelty towards a set of men entitled to our commiseration, we shall briefly state from authority, which it will not be safe in M. Dupin to dispute, the simple facts regarding the prison ships, the regulation under which they were placed, the amount and quality of the

* M. Dupin might have known General Wirrion and his worthy associates—never was paragraph more applicable to them.

provisions, the numbers confined in each, and the result of their treatment, as exhibited by the state of health, and the proportion of deaths that occurred among the prisoners; these facts, to use his own expression, will "speak for themselves."

In the first place, the most roomy and airy ships of two and three decks were selected, to be fitted up as prison ships, any thing within them that could encumber any part of the space, or prevent a free circulation of air, was completely cleared away. A post captain of experience and humanity superintended the whole at each port, and each ship was under the command of a steady lieutenant. Instructions for the guidance of these officers were printed and posted in a part of the ship to which every prisoner had free access.* By these instructions, the commanding officer was directed to muster the prisoners twice a week,

* Fortunate would it have been for myself and companions had a similar plan been adopted towards us, we might have been able to meet General Neuhouse Maisonneuve on equal ground, and have prevented those acts of tyranny with which we had so long to contend, when under his authority at the fortress of Bitche.

to take care that the prison apparel and bedding were kept perfectly clean; that the decks were scraped and dry rubbed with sand; that they were seldom allowed to be washed in the summer, and never in the winter months; that a due circulation of air was admitted into every part of the ship; that in the mornings, the lee ports were opened; first, in order that the prisoners might not be subject to a too sudden change of temperature, or be exposed at once to a thorough draft; that no wet clothes were on any account to be hung up before the ports of the ship; that in dry weather, the clothes and bedding were brought upon deck and aired; that after dinner the decks were swept clean; that the prisoners were allowed to go upon deck and below just as they pleased; that if guilty of disorderly, riotous, or bad conduct, they were to be confined in the black hole, but on no account to be struck by any officer or other person. The regulations respecting their food were equally minute. Every species of provisions was carefully examined each morning by the lieutenant or master of the ship; if any part was found deficient in quantity or

quality, a report was immediately made to the superintending captain, who had the power to punish the contractor according to the magnitude of the offence. The allowance for each, of five days in the week, was 1½lb of bread, entirely of wheaten flour,* ½lb of good and wholesome fresh beef, with a sufficient quantity of cabbage or turnips, onions and salt, for each of the other two days, 1lb of good salt cod, or herrings, potatoes, &c. which was more we suspect than the rations of the French soldier or seaman when on service.† With regard to the number of prisoners put on board each ship, the general regulation was not to exceed that which the same ship would have as her established compliment, if in commission. Thus, a 74 gun ship, had on board from 600 to 700 men, and when it is considered that all the guns, masts, pumps, anchors, cables, and every kind of lumber were

* The bread served out to our unfortunate sailors, was nearly black.

† Certainly, and far more than allowed (to say nothing of quantity) to the English soldiers and sailors, during their imprisonment.

removed out of the ship, it may fairly be concluded, that without the necessity of exposing themselves to bad weather, they had just twice the space to move about in, that our seamen have with hard labour and salt provisions. We have now before us a return of the prisoners of war on board the ships in Portsmouth harbour, in September 1813, when most numerous, and the state of health at that time, which we think will furnish a satisfactory reply to the alleged misery and mortality on board the hulks, as set forth by M. Dupin.

SHIPS.	PRISONERS.	SICK ON BOARD OR IN THE HOSPITAL SHIPS.
Prothee,	583	10
Crown,	608	3
San Damaso,	726	32
Vigilant,	590	8
Guilford,	693	8
San Antonio,	820	9
Vengeance,	692	7
Veteran,	592	7
Suffolk,	683	6

Assistance,	727		35
Arve Princen,	769		9
Kron Princen,	760		4
Waldermaar,	809		1
Negro, Danes,	118		
Negro, Americans,	57		
	9227		139

"Making the proportion of sick in 9227 men equal to 1½ in the hundred.

"At the time these returns were made, Fortune prison, near Portsmouth, had 3,972 prisoners, of whom 174 were sick, being at the rate of above four in the hundred. The good state of health was still more extraordinary in the prison built on the heights of Dartmoor. In consequence of an attack made on government, in the house of commons, for sending prisoners of war to this 'cold, damp, and unhealthy spot,' as it was called, the transport board ordered one of its members personally to inspect the prison; at the time of his arrival, the number of prisoners amounted to 6,572, of whom only 36 were on the sick-list, and one

had died. M. Dupin, indeed, while labouring to describe the hulks and the prisons as the most horrible dens of misery in which 'human beings were buried, and slowly devoted to the infernal gods of hatred, of vengeance, and of death,' even he is compelled to admit, that 'the numbers which died were much less considerable than might have been expected from the ill-treatment they experienced.' He accounts for this, however, by a discovery that the effect of confinement is not to afflict man with sudden and violent maladies, which terminate existence rapidly, and that this effect was so well known to the British government, that it took the remarkable step of diminishing the number of deaths among its prisoners, by sending them to France to die, where, he asserts, that "more than nine-tenths did actually die in the hospitals." But we shall show how very little credit is to be placed in M. Dupin's numbers, which appear to us to be set down at random. He says, that from 1803 to 1814, inclusive,

The number who died in the English prisons was - - - - - - - - 12,845

Sent to France in a dying state during that period, - - - - - - - 12,787

Total, - - - - 25,632

Returned to France since 1814, their health more or less debilitated, - 70,041

Grand total, - - 95,673

"Now the actual numbers in the above-mentioned period were as under:

Died in the prisons of England, - 10,341

Sent home invalids on parole, - - 17,607

And the total number of prisoners sent to this country during the war, was - - - - - - - - 122,440

"So that it would follow, on taking the whole of the eleven years, that the average number of deaths amounted only to 940 annually; but as the great mass of prisoners was thrown upon us in the years 1808 and 9, we will take the average number at 70,000 only, and the

number of years at six, which will give 1740 for the annual deaths, or two-and-a-half per cent on the whole number, which is, in fact, much greater than was actually the case. Be it observed, also, that after the several great battles that were fought, many of the 122,440 prisoners were received in a state of disease, and others severely wounded. What, then, shall we think of the man who wantonly calumniates the government for sending home to their friends many thousands of weak, aged, and convalescent prisoners of war, in spite of the inhuman and obstinate determination of Bonaparte to admit of no exchange, and converts into a charge of inhumanity what was purely intended, and really was, an act of the truest kindness and consideration.

"In making a merit of the English prisoners being sent to cheerful towns, and well received among the inhabitants, M. Dupin should not have forgotten to add, that it was the immense sums of money remitted by the friends of the detenues that purchased for them a welcome reception, and made the most gloomy of their

garrison towns 'des villes riantes.' Far different was the case of the French prisoners: no human being in France, and least of all Buonaparte, seemed to care a straw about what became of them."

From the foregoing extracts it will be seen, that M. Dupin has drawn a comparison most unjust, when alluding to the confinement of his countrymen on board the prison ships, and that of our own detained at Verdun, where it is proverbial, the money they expended enriched no inconsiderable portion of its inhabitants. Of the situation of the English soldiers and sailors confined in the forts and citadels of France he has thought proper not to say one word; probably it was not convenient for him to do so, as some reason at least would be required to palliate the atrocious acts (such as the decree condemning those to irons who attempted to escape, chaining and otherwise attaching the prisoner when moving to or from his depôt,) which the government of that period, to its everlasting disgrace, so unsparingly exercised towards them. Nor is he the only French writer of eminence who has

thought fit to charge our government with inhumanity towards its prisoners of war.

General Foy, in writing on the military establishments of this country, remarks: "The French have been humane and kind to their prisoners. The degree of liberty and comfort granted to them forms a contrast with the slavery and misery of the French prisoners abroad. Only compare Verdun with the prison ships at Plymouth."

The situation of the French Officers who were on parole in this country not being touched upon by either of these writers, it is only fair to presume they had nothing to complain of. I have repeatedly been asked by Frenchmen, whether I "do not perceive a great improvement in the general condition of the country since the period of the war." As regards its aspect, I observe in some parts considerable improvement, in others none. In the northern departments particularly, and those on the Frontier towards Alsace, much waste land has been cultivated, as likewise roads improved. A spirit of industry seems to prevail in this part of France to a greater extent (with

little exception) than in all others I have visited at different epochs since the period of 1814.

Manufactories, of various descriptions, on an extensive scale too, have been erected in many of the towns of the north, particularly Lille and its vicinity, Valenciennes, Douay, Cambrai and St. Quentin; the fortifications of the latter having been removed to allow space for the erection of additional factories, it has become of sufficient importance to be denominated "The Manchester of France."

In 1824, when visiting the districts alluded to, I had the opportunity of inspecting several of these establishments, and conversing with the proprietors, as also the principal workmen engaged in them. Of the latter, many were Englishmen, who, owing to the high rate of wages obtained here, had been induced to quit their homes. I met with few who were not anxious to return; although they had no cause to complain as regarded the treatment of their employers, they did not like the country or the mode of living. At this period it will be remembered, an act of parliament was in force to

prevent the exportation of machinery, or the artisan emigrating, under severe penalties, to other countries, for the purpose of carrying on his particular calling. In answer to my inquiry from one of these people, employed in a factory at Rouval les Doulens, in the Department of the Somme, whether he thought the French workmen would ever be able to compete with us, he replied, "they have plenty of ingenuity, but they cannot stand to labour for so many hours together as we are used to in Manchester, adding they take their meals more frequently than we do, and likewise spend greater time over them. I have heard similar remarks on occasions afterwards in other factories through which I passed. There were few of the proprietors of these establishments who had not been in England to inspect our factories. Some thought, provided they had but sufficient capital, they would in time be able to compete with the people of Manchester, Leeds, &c. How far so desirable a position was likely soon to be attained, I will leave the reader to imagine, when I state that there were but few indeed of these factories the property of single

individuals or particular firms; the greater part were held by companies, and consequently in shares. As in all such cases, the operations were carried on under the direction of a committee, by whose authority all purchases of the raw material (cotton) were to he made, as well as the sale of the goods manufactured. In conversation with a gentleman having the superintendence of one of these establishments, and who had resided many years in England, (a brother-in-law of the then prime minister of France,) when alluding to the possibility of a competition, he observed "the idea is ridiculous. You must have observed in the manufactories you have visited, how small a stock of cotton they have to work upon, as compared to your Manchester people. What we want, above all, is capital. In your country it is not uncommon to find several factories carried on by one individual; and I know of some who actually pay a thousand pounds a week in wages to their workmen. Such men can buy, not only to any extent, but to advantage, as they generally purchase when the cotton market is languid; if a rise takes place, provided they have suffi-

cient stock to go on with for a time, they gain without incurring the cost and trouble of manufacturing. With money," he added, "anything may be done in England as regards this trade; not so with us. Our people are content with coarser articles, costing less than similar classes in England usually wear. As to export orders, the foreigner always goes where the best selection can be made; it cannot therefore be expected he will come here."

Since the visit I allude to, the cotton factories of the north of France have stood in need, (I believe on more occasions than one,) of pecuniary assistance; what their condition may be at this moment I do not pretend to know. It is said that similar works carried on by Swiss proprietors in the vicinity of the Rhine, are in a state of prosperity, that their goods meet more advantageous sale, (particularly the finer printed ones,) in foreign markets, than those made in the districts referred to. In a recent work* on France, the author introduces a table, containing a statement of the distribution of education throughout that country, by which it

* France, Social, Literary and Political, G. H. L. Bulwer, Esq. M. P., a work well worthy of perusal.

appears that in the manufacturing districts on which I write, the people are better instructed than in those of the departments of the south, where occupation is more particularly confined to the production of the soil. If correct, these opposite parts of France present a wide difference. In some of the former, the number of young men knowing how to read and write, are represented as from fifty to seventy in every hundred; whereas in the most fertile provinces of the south there are not more than twenty to twenty-five in that number, and one department presents us with but twelve, possessing those advantages; the average of the kingdom is given at thirty-three in the hundred.

Although improvement is confined to an inconsiderable number of towns in the interior, the greater part of those on the coast have, and are rapidly increasing. Of these, Havre is the most conspicuous; it is the only port I have visited where docks have been constructed; its situation, lying at the mouth of the Siene, is the great entrepôt for the transit of merchandize to and from the capital; besides, it is moreover contigious to the manufacturing districts of Rouen,

and supplies the factories of the north with cotton. Bordeaux, once considered the first commercial port of the kingdom, has lost a considerable portion of its foreign trade, which has passed to the former place. Nants, La Rochelle, and Charante, have likewise progressed considerably. The merchants of the former have been said to derive great wealth from the abominable traffic in slaves; how truly I will not pretend to determine. The latter being the shipping port for brandies, more than one hundred and fifty English vessels have been dispatched from it within the period of twelve months, laden with that article, and destined for different parts of the United Kingdom. Brest, Rochfort, L'Orient, and Cherbourg, have not risen in anything like proportion with the ports above mentioned. At the head of the list of the maritime towns of France, whose prosperity seems daily to increase, is Marseilles; the rapid strides which it has taken within the last ten years is remarkable, not only as regards its increase of population, buildings, &c., but also its foreign trade, situated at the opening of the Mediterranean, and a free port.

Marseilles receives more vessels (of all nations) than any other in the kingdom. The occupation of Algiers has tended materially to work this difference, as a considerable trade has since been carried on not only there, but likewise with other possessions on the African continent subsequently acquired. Of the towns in the interior (with the exception of those in the manufacturing districts) there is not that improvement which might be looked for since the period of the general peace. Paris has certainly many new buildings added to its fauxbougs, with some additional national edifices. The same may be said of Bourdeaux, and Chatelrault, the grand depôt for cutlery, (termed the Birmingham of France,) which has also become very extensive; there is little apparent alteration in any of the other towns through which I had to pass since my captivity. In England, when returning to a town, or even a village, however remote its situation, after a few years absence, we are sure to find alterations and improvements. After more than twenty years of peace, we might be expected to find canals cut

and new roads formed. I am not prepared to assert neither of these have been effected since the period of Napoleon's authority; but I can affirm, although I have had to travel more frequently, and to perform far more extensive journeys since 1814, than preceding that period, I have in vain endeavoured to discover any such improvements.

It may be told that Buonaparte possessed the means of carrying into effect plans for the general improvement of the country, which the monarchs subsequently called to the throne have not had. This I freely admit, when naming that there were between 60 and 70,000 Spanish prisoners in France at the period of 1811, a great proportion of whom were employed in constructing roads, repairing others, and excavating the famed Napoleon Canal. The Austrian prisoners taken in 1809 were, during the short period of their captivity, similarly occupied. The pay of those people, as likewise the Spaniards, did not exceed a few sous per day. It will be inquired, is there not a sufficient number of indigent persons to be found, willing to work on the high roads, &c. if fairly paid? Doubtless, there are, and

it excites the traveller's surprise that the government should not employ them on those of the south and south-west, many of which stand greatly in need of repair. Much has, for some time, been said of an intended commercial treaty between England and France: the question has frequently been asked whether I consider it likely that so desirable an object can be attained. My answer is, that if not impossible, it is, at least, very improbable, that an arrangement can be effected by which the productions, particularly those manufactured, of this country, would be allowed entry into France. I shall briefly state the grounds on which this opinion rests.

We must first consider the articles the French stand most in need of, and which this country could best supply. These I take it would be cutlery, earthenware, principally of the lowest description, coarse woollens, friezes, calicoes, a variety of manufactured cotton goods, yarns, and cotton twist. Admit them at a duty which would allow of their being offered at anything near the rate asked for similar ones of French make, and you shut up the manufacturing establish-

ments of that country. Such is the perfection to which steam machinery has been brought in England, the capital possessed by our manufacturers having, with the exception of cotton, the material from which the articles I have mentioned are made, as common productions of our country, and which the French have not, it is obvious their artisans would (as they have represented in their petitions to the Chamber of Deputies, against the admission of English goods) be speedily ruined. I must moreover add, that a preference is given for articles of British origin, although their own may be offered at a corresponding price This remark more particularly applies to that of cutlery, as their iron, principally drawn from the north, and Belgium, is of the most inferior kind. It is in the Chamber of Deputies that the French manufacturers find protection against foreigners interfering with them, and not with the government, who are desirous (if their reception of the agent sent to France by our ministry, for the purpose of collecting information, touching a reciprocity of trade, can be taken as a criterion) of cementing

the good understanding existing between the respective countries. For that protection it is not very difficult to account. The population of the kingdom exceeds somewhat 32 millions; of these, there are five millions of landed proprietors. Owing to the extraordinary division of property in the country, the amount of taxes paid by the greater part of that class being under that which gives the elective qualification, there are, out of 200,000 electors, but few of these landed proprietors who have the right of voting, twelve-fifteenths being from the towns. When it is considered that the manufactories are almost exclusively confined to them, we may readily account for the circumstance of their having greater support in the legislative body than those possessing landed property, although they comprise three-fourths of the entire population. The owners of estates in the south are desirous of a free trade. "If you come here with your merchandise," they say, "for us to purchase, we may naturally anticipate you will take our produce in return." The manufacturer says different—"I don't want your goods: I

have no produce to offer." It must here be remarked, that the countries where the manufactories are most numerous, the north of France, produce few articles suited to the English market. The reader will thus perceive that the interests of one-fourth of the population of France is supported at the expense of the remaining three. As long as this system exists, it is useless to anticipate anything like a free trade with France. A few years back it appeared, by returns laid before Parliament, that where this country draws from her merchandise to the amount of one million, she takes from us but £100,000.

We may be told the French government have recently shown a disposition to act with liberality. I will briefly state to what extent it has been carried. During the past year the import duty on British coal has been considerably reduced, being an article, as I need scarcely inform the reader, not only essential to the manufacturer, but one with which he cannot be more favourably supplied, either as regards quality or price, than from Great Britain. The tonnage duty chargeable on English vessels entering French ports has been

lessened somewhat equal to one third. This boon was granted at a time when those of France had no duty whatever levied on them. Beyond these, certain articles of cotton manufacture, not necessary here to specify, are permitted entry into their markets, but such is the protecting duty placed on them, that it amounts to a prohibition. I now come to remark on the general condition of the people, as compared to the period of the war, in which I perceive a great change. The poorer classes are not only better clothed, but they are more happy and content, as likewise living better than when under the rule of Napoleon. This is to be particularly remarked in the rural communes. The middle and higher classes no longer under restraint, as regards the desire that they should not appear to possess wealth, which was the case, as I have already described, during the war, are more independent, and may be seen entering into every kind of gaity and amusement. I have lived to see the ferocity of the gen d'arme, if not entirely subdued, at least considerably lessened;

and this observation will equally apply to the French officers who, under Napoleon, (even towards the inhabitants) appeared to think that no act of theirs required palliation.

I have already noticed the material improvement in the French marine. Though the army is kept up, if we may judge from its numbers, on a war establishment, yet there is not to be met with in it anything like such fine men as we were accustomed to meet with in the celebrated imperial guard. This has not less surprised me than many Frenchmen to whom I have made the remark. The greater part of the soldiers of the line are of low stature, much less than we are accustomed to see in our own. Their clothing and equipments are quite equal to those worn by the imperial troops. The tallest and most powerful are the carbineers, curassiers, dragoons, and artillery. To convince the reader that my remarks are not gathered from heresay, I may be excused for naming that I have seen the royal, as also the body guard, of Louis XVIII. and Charles X. The army sent into Spain under the

Duke of Angouleme, as likewise the greater part of the forces when on their way to embark for Algiers, and those to whom the brave General Chassé was compelled to surrender the citadel of Antwerp. Of the naval and military forces of France, a work published some short time back gives the following statement:—"The standing army consists of 406,339 men; add then the national guards throughout the country, France has more than one million of men under arms. The navy is composed of 33 ships of the line, 39 frigates, 17 corvetts, and 200 vessels of smaller size, making a total of 289." Of the former there has since been some reductions, and to the latter no inconsiderable addition; to what extent either of those have been carried, I am unable to state.

I am not aware of the particular mode of punishment now adopted in the French navy. If allowed to form an opinion by the clean appearance and orderly demeanour of their sailors, it must differ widely from that which I was accustomed to witness while on board the Polonais. The military code of France is, in

its provisions and punishments, severe; much more so, indeed, than the civil one. For this they account by telling us, that as the principles of equality are rooted in every class of society, there is necessity that the former should be rigorous, to preserve obedience in the army. By that code more than twenty cases are punishable with death, several of which, if committed in the British service, would be atoned for by the use of the lash. For minor offences such as theft, the French soldier is usually sent for a period of five years (and beyond it, according to the nature of the offence) to the public works, otherwise termed the gallies. So long a resident in that country, it may be expected I should offer at least some opinion on the general character of its people. If I forbear entering on a subject so delicate the reader will excuse me, when I say, that in painting their good qualities, (I will not deny they are many) I might allude somewhat too particularly to those foibles (vanity and frivolity) for which, as a nation, they have been remarkable, from the earliest periods of their history.

In conclusion, I hope the reader will pardon the inaccuracies which may appear in my work, that he will extend to me the allowance which I would freely grant to him, were he placed in my situation — that is, for the first time publishing.

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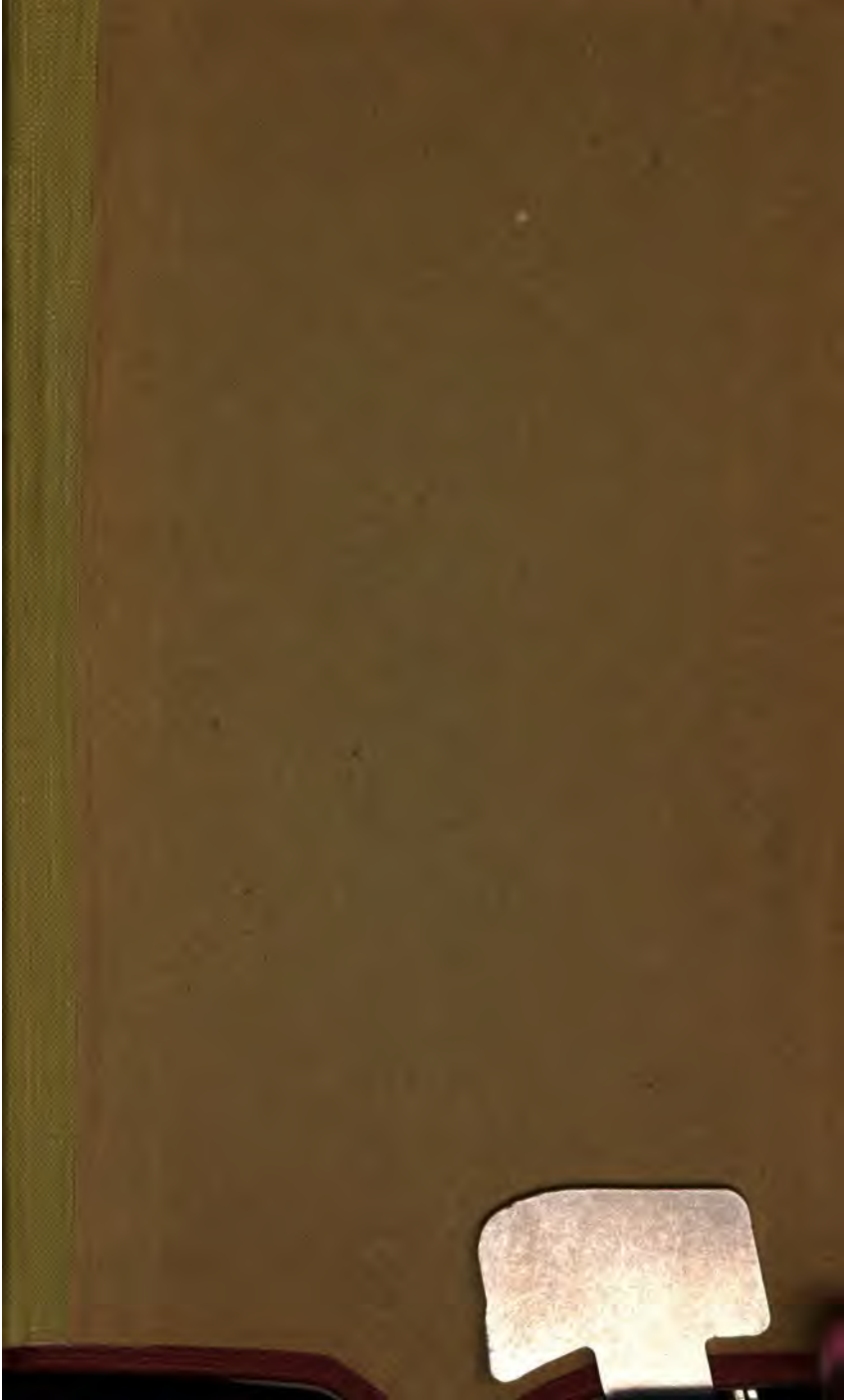
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